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The Embodied Icon

*Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental
Power in Byzantium*

WARREN T. WOODFIN



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WARREN T. WOODFIN

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Introduction

In the summer of 2004, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York presented two concurrent exhibitions featuring historical dress. On the ground floor one could visit a show entitled *Dangerous Liaisons*, displaying aristocratic costume and furniture from preRevolutionary France., The poses of the mannequins, engaged in all manner of social intercourse, worked in tandem with the exquisitely decorated garments to convey the air of insouciant luxury associated with the Ancien Regime. The poses of visitors were equally demonstrative; their smiles, gestures, and whispers to one another indicated that they grasped the connection between the dress of the eighteenth-century nobility and the pursuit of love, pleasure, and status. The game of decoding the messages of the costumes in *Dangerous Liaisons* proved enormously popular with visitors to the Metropolitan, who thronged the narrow passages of the installation in far greater numbers than the curators could ever have expected.

On the second floor of the Museum, a gallery within the exhibition *Byzantium: Faith and Power* showcased liturgical vestments and textiles of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Made of silks heavily embroidered in gold and silver threads and applied with pearls, these pieces at least equalled the sumptuousness of the French costumes downstairs. The Byzantine pieces, however, seem to have struck viewers as enigmatic rather than transparent. Some leaned in close to observe the details of embroidery stitches and applied pearls; others were overawed by the number and variety of embroidered images. Clearly these were garments meant to convey a message, but what were they saying? Even if it had been possible to place the vestments on posed mannequins in the manner of the eighteenthcentury exhibition, it is doubtful that casual visitors would have been able to bridge the cultural divide that separates the Late Byzantine Empire from the present day. Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* notwithstanding, we are not so far removed from the social world of the eighteenth century as to misunderstand the invitation to the gaze implied by a plunging neckline or the theatrics of desire suggested by the proscenium arch formed by the skirt of a robe a la francaise.² A similar understanding of the religious practices of the medieval Orthodox Church, on the other hand, is something that relatively few of the museum-going public, or even professional art historians, can be expected to share. While we understand the status signals of ostentatiously labour-intensive passementerie trimmings on

eighteenth-century dresses, we hardly know what to make of the equally labour-intensive embroidery of row after row of tiny figures of saints on a stole.

Marxist and feminist theories of conspicuous consumption and commodification have been applied, with fruitful results, to women's costume (and, more rarely, men's costume) of the past several centuries. These approaches falter, however, when confronted with garments that operate on wholly different presuppositions. They do not account for the role of powerful, largely celibate men operating within a religious context that subjugates the personal role of the minister to the role of representing a transcendent, divine power.³ Still more important for Byzantium and its highly developed cult of icons, such approaches to historical costume fail to account for the place of images on garments. How, in other words, do we understand conspicuous display when it is presented in the form of sacred images? How do we approach with a critical and searching eye the clothing of bodies devoted to the service of God?

Research on textiles and costume in the medieval West has demonstrated just how valued these items were in the Middle Ages. As the most visible and outward symbol of the social and political order, dress and insignia were hotly contested in the great rivalry between secular powers and the papacy that shaped the history of Western Europe in the Middle Ages. That greatest of medieval forgeries, the Donation of Constantine, takes time to spell out not only the lands and powers given to St Sylvester by the emperor, but the imperial insignia conferred on that pope and his successors.⁴ The charming series of thirteenth-century frescoes in a chapel of the church of the Quattro Coronati in Rome shows the transfer of privileges: the scenes of Constantine's conversion and baptism are followed by the investiture of Pope Sylvester in the imperial phrygium (recognizable as the ancestor of the papal tiara) and umbrella and the conveyance to him of lordship over the city of Rome (see fig. 0.1).⁵ As we shall see, the Greek translation of this document lent it an eventful second life in Byzantium as well.

We are aware also of the premium placed on liturgical costume not only for its symbolic value, but also for its aesthetic qualities. Meyer Schapiro made the delighted reaction of the monks of Durham at the vestments (apparently imported from Byzantium) that they found within the tomb of St Cuthbert a centrepiece for his reconstruction of the 'aesthetic attitude' of twelfth-century viewers.⁶ Nor did Western European viewers value only exotic, Eastern-Mediterranean textiles.

Local schools of embroidery in South Italy, Bavaria, Northern France, and Spain contributed distinct styles to the decoration of liturgical garments.' In particular, the embroidery of England, *opus anglicanum*, became a valued commodity throughout Europe in the later Middle Ages. Ample textual documentation attests to its reception and patronage. As early as the Council of Bari in 1098, the English cope worn by the bishop of Benevento is recorded as having excited the envy and admiration of the other participants.' By the mid-thirteenth century there was enough of an established network of workshops and London middlemen that Pope Innocent IV (1243- 1254) could place what amounted to a bulk order for embroidered chasubles and copes from England.⁹ The welter of textual documentation of commissions, bequests, and use of liturgical vestments in the later Middle Ages in the West gives ample evidence of the worth and esteem that they were accorded.



Fig. 0.1. Constantine the Great presenting the imperial insignia to Pope Sylvester, fresco, c. 1246. Cappella San Silvestro, Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome. Photo: author.

The depth and variety of textual documentation for production of embroidered liturgical vestments in the West has guided their study in particular directions. Statutes of guilds and trade regulations give particular insights into the organization of production and the circumstances of patronage. Furthermore, we have texts that record medieval viewers reacting to embroidered costume. It is, perhaps,

ironic that the visual aspects of Western medieval embroidery, especially iconography, have been the less studied.^{1°} In fact, the cutting edge of scholarship on medieval costume in general appears to be within the study of literature rather than that of art." While a vast corpus of textiles remains from the medieval West, it has hardly been subject to systematic publication, with the exception of the monumental 1938 study of *opus anglicanum* by A. G. I. Christie.² Individual collections of sacred and imperial vestments have been the subjects of more recent studies, including the monumental exhibition catalogue of the regalia from Norman Sicily now in Vienna.¹³

Byzantium, thanks to the violent fall of its territories to the Ottomans and the difficulties of the Orthodox churches under Muslim rule, has fared still worse in terms of the accidents of survival. The corpus of Byzantine liturgical vestments is small: fewer than eighty pieces can be plausibly dated between the rise of liturgical embroidery in the late twelfth century and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. For whatever reason, the textual record, too, is very thin. What has come down to us are such laconic documents as monastic inventories that occasionally list vestments and-even more occasionally-the subjects of the embroideries on them. These sources have the virtue, however, of confirming the evidence of the earliest surviving material to place the rise of figural embroidery on vestments in the late twelfth century. The textual sources do not tell us, however, what the Byzantines thought of this apparently new art. Despite a strong tradition of literary description (*ekphrasis*) of works of art, there is a virtual silence surrounding the Byzantines' reaction to embroidered liturgical vestments. We must therefore rely far more on the methods of art history to gain some insight into the intentions that went into the making of vestments and the reception they may have had by viewers both clerical and lay. In order to decode our primary source-the works of art themselves-we must place them back into the context of their period. This context was, quite literally, multidimensional, involving as it did the physical spaces of churches and city streets, both adorned with images both fixed and moveable. The cultural context also included, as we shall see, the evolving system of costume in use in the imperial court of Constantinople and imitated in the courts of surrounding kingdoms.

THE MEDIUM OF EMBROIDERY

While Byzantium was known in the Middle Ages, as today, for the extraordinary quality of its textiles, the coverage of this production in scholarship has favoured certain types of fabrics over others. In

contrast to the enormous body of scholarship on the figured silks of the Middle Byzantine period, Byzantine gold embroidery has been largely neglected. Although a number of books have been published on regional embroidery traditions in Greece, Russia, and the Balkans, only two major studies have treated the embroideries of Byzantium proper.¹⁵ In part, scholars' neglect of the medium reflects the status of embroidery as a poor relation to woven textiles, a sign of the empire's economic decline. The production of the highly refined silks for which Constantinople was famed—animal and figural patterns woven on highly sophisticated drawlooms—seems to have come to an end with the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. Such textiles demanded considerable expertise for the setting up of the loom and the programming of its harnesses with the sequence of manipulations of the warp threads that would produce the pattern. It is not surprising, then, that the sack of Constantinople and the dispersal of its Greek inhabitants should bring the production of its textile workshops to a standstill. The cities of Nicaea and Thessalonike continued to produce silk textiles even after the Fourth Crusade, although their kind and quality are not well documented.¹⁶ It is likely that these were undecorated tabby, twill, or satin-weave silks, suitable for embroidered decoration. Such ground fabrics may equally have been produced in Byzantine workshops or imported from Italy or other foreign silk-producing centres. The other major component of the embroidery, the gold threads, may have been imported as well. Documents from the 1320s and 1330s attest to the importation of gold thread into Constantinople from Venice, Genoa, Lucca, and Provence."

It would be difficult to determine with precision the absolute value of embroidery in comparison to the earlier production of patterned silks. It has been suggested more than once that the use of gold embroidery for figural decoration was, in actuality, an economizing measure.¹⁸ Certainly, it is suggestive that embroidery flourished during the time of the empire's economic frailty under the Angelos (1185-1204) and Palaiologos Dynasties (1259-1453). Despite the need for imported materials in the form of the silk ground textiles, gold embroidery threads, and sometimes pearls, the economics of production of embroideries may have been more flexible than those for the production of patterned silk textiles. While the cost of materials was high, gold embroidery could be produced by individuals working alone or in small workshops. Even if gold embroidery proved more expensive on a per-piece basis, its production could go forward without the sort of major capital expense for workshop organization and permanent equipment that patterned silks demanded. This aspect of the medium must have made it especially appealing to an empire

that lived increasingly hand-to-mouth.

For all its visual refinement, gold embroidery is very straightforward in terms of technique. Essentially, there are only two types of stitches used in Byzantine embroidery: silk thread is used for faces, hands, and other details (generally in stem stitch or chain stitch), while the bulk of the design consists of metallic threads that are laid and couched. The latter term refers to the securing of a gold thread or threads to the underlying textile by means of couching stitches, simple overcast stitches.¹⁹ The welter of Greek terms used for couching stitches in Byzantine and post-Byzantine embroidery refer not to actual variations in the form of the stitch itself, but to the pattern in which the stitches are. By varying the placement of the couching stitches, the embroiderer can achieve patterns such as chevrons, diamonds, basket weave, and the like. As the bodies of the figures and, often, even the background of the Byzantine works are executed in gold thread, the variety of patterns of couching help to create a sense of shading and contrast between adjacent areas.²¹

The other means of creating variety and contrast in the gold ground was to vary the metallic thread used. While flattened silver or silver-gilt wire could be laid and couched, the more common technique was to twist a very thin strip of metal foil around a coloured silk core. Depending on the workshop producing the metal threads, they might be cut from silver, gold, or silver-gilt foil, or alternatively hammered from a thin wire.²² The silk, showing through to a greater or lesser degree depending on the tightness of the twist of the foil, would impart a slight cast of its hue to the gold or silver. Texture could be achieved by laying the gold over padding consisting of loosely twisted cotton or silk, imparting a slight relief to sections of the design.²³ The ends of the couched length of gold thread or wire would be turned to the back of the ground textile by means of a stiletto. Byzantine embroiderers exploited this technique at the borders of areas to be covered in gold. The trough formed by the absence of metal threads on the surface would be filled in with stitches in coloured silk, creating a drawing line that reinforced the contour.²⁴ As a rule, the gold threads are laid in horizontal rows, with the couching stitches consequently vertical. The letters of inscriptions are consistently rendered with gold placed across the width, rather than the length, of the strokes.²⁵

We know very little about the workshops that produced gold embroidery in Byzantium. For want of other indications, one would be tempted to ascribe a major role to monastic workshops, especially

given the prominence of embroidered textiles in monastic inventories. The textual record, however, is virtually silent.²⁶ One scant piece of information comes from a stole from Mt. Athos published by Millet, the inscription of which he reads as «OeoTiq μovaX,j,» 'the pious nun, likely an indication of a nun working as an embroiderer.²⁷ There is little reason to believe, however, that Byzantium held to modern notions of embroidery as 'women's work'. The National Historical Museum in Tirana, Albania, preserves an embroidered fourteenth-century epitaphios, a large liturgical cloth bearing the likeness of the dead Christ laid out for burial. Originally from the episcopal see of Berat, its inscription names the patron, the Bishop Kalistos, the artisan, George Areanites, chrysoklabares (i.e. gold embroiderer), and the date of 22 March 6881 (i.e. 1373).²⁸ A unique piece of information comes from the encomium of Gregory Palamas, whose miracles include healing the illness of the son of a maker and restorer of gold-embroidered liturgical vestments.²⁹ The context of the miracle makes it clear that the gold embroiderer (chrysostiktes) is a secular individual running a household workshop involving other artisans.³⁰

The evidence of the surviving embroideries also, from time to time, suggests workshop groups. As is to be expected from the nature of the medium, divergences in style suggest that pieces were produced in regional centres as well as in the capital. The epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, dated 1406/7, for example, is unique in its overall background rinceau. For lack of a better attribution, we can tentatively assign it on the basis of its patron's biography to a local, Peloponnesian workshop.³¹ A group of late fifteenth-century stoles preserved on Mt. Athos, on the other hand, repeatedly draws on the same compositional and decorative devices. Based on the inscriptions on several stoles from this group, we can assume the workshop to be connected with early Ottoman Constantinople and the circle of the patriarchate.³²

Inscriptions like those on the Athonite stoles, naming bishops and high officials of the patriarchal chancery, are unfortunately rare on liturgical vestments. In certain cases, such as the splendid Major Sakkos of Metropolitan Photios, an imperial or patriarchal commission can be postulated. Other types of embroidered liturgical cloths, such as epitaphioi and podeai-ornamental cloths to decorate icons displayed for veneration-more frequently bear dedicatory inscriptions. While they are not the direct subject of this study, veils such as these offer ample evidence of patronage of gold embroidery at the highest levels of the imperial court.³³ Among the earliest of surviving epitaphioi, for instance, is one dedicated to the church of St Sofia at

Ochrid by the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328), and his father, Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282), commissioned an elaborate altar frontal with scenes from the life of St Lawrence as a gift to the cathedral of Genoa.³⁴ There can be no doubt, then, that embroidery was esteemed as an art worthy of imperial patronage and of sufficient dignity to be used for diplomatic gifts abroad.³⁵

TEXTUAL SOURCES

We have already made reference to a number of textual sources apart from the inscriptions on embroideries themselves. Because no genre of Byzantine texts deals extensively with liturgical embroidery, this study perforce casts a wide net in the types of textual sources it draws on to interpret the surviving liturgical vestments. As texts play a key role in the argument, it is worth a brief excursus on the nature of the most important sources.

The inventories of monastic treasuries already alluded to typically constitute one section of the monastery's foundation document, or *typikon*.³⁶ Monastic *typika* have the virtue of being working documents, meaning that, while the information they record may be tantalizingly short on detail, it will nonetheless be relatively clear. They thus avoid the difficulty inherent in so many genres of literature caused by the well-known aversion to technical vocabulary on the part of Byzantine authors. Not all of the surviving *typika* mention liturgical vestments, and the level of detail varies widely among those that do. Nonetheless, the fact that several dozen *typika* survive, ranging in date from the seventh century to the fall of the Byzantine Empire, allows one to trace the thin trail of evidence across a relatively consistent genre of texts. The original Greek texts of the various *typika* have appeared in scattered publications from the seventeenth century to the present, often as diplomatic transcriptions of a single manuscript. Fortunately for present-day research, the five-volume publication from Dumbarton Oaks, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*,³⁷ gives complete annotated scholarly translations for all sixty-one surviving charters. One important non-monastic inventory has survived, the record of the treasury of Hagia Sophia taken in October 1396, which contains records both of figural and non-figuratively embroidered vestments.³⁸

Evidence from other types of ecclesiastical records is still more scattered. Occasional references to liturgical vestments are found in the commentaries on canon law and, still more rarely, among the acts of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. ³⁹ These texts shed light on the

restriction-or attempted restriction-of certain vestments to the higher ranks of the episcopate. More importantly, they offer the clearest picture of the gradual project of accruing privileges to the patriarchs and other major prelates. Other genres such as lists of 'errors' on the part of Latin-rite Christians highlight the Byzantine view of their own liturgy, including clerical dress, as sacrosanct in comparison to the 'innovations' practised in the West.⁴⁰ The text of the Byzantine liturgy itself was recorded in euchologia, or prayer books. There is, in fact, a great deal of variation among the surviving euchologia for the formulae that were added to the liturgy at a relatively late date, including the prayers recited at the vesting of the clergy. The details of the actions of the liturgical rite were spelled out in manuals of ceremonial, or diataxeis, the earliest manuscripts of which date from the twelfth century. Their directions became standardized in the second half of the fourteenth century with the widespread adoption of the diataxis of Philotheos Kokkinos, which in turn formed the basis of the directions for the patriarchal liturgy written by Demetrios Gemistos.⁴¹

The single most important category of texts for this study is that of the mystagogical commentaries on the liturgy. The exposition of the hidden meaning of the rites of the Church can be traced to homilies of the patristic period, but the foundational text of the genre is the Ecclesiastical History attributed to Germanos I (Patriarch of Constantinople 715-730). Accretions to the Ecclesiastical History accumulated throughout the Byzantine period, along with the de novo composition of liturgical commentaries inspired by its example.⁴² Together with the euchologies and diataxeis, these texts help us to reconstruct a picture of what was happening in the liturgy of the Orthodox Church at various moments in its history. Furthermore, as I will argue, these texts establish the pattern of interpretation of the liturgy as a reenactment of the life of Christ that is key to our understanding of the meaning of liturgical vestments and their embroidered decoration. Unfortunately from the point of view of this study, the state of scholarship on these texts is less developed than might be wished. The most important of the later commentaries, those of Nicholas Kabasilas and Symeon of Thessalonike, are published in scholarly editions.⁴³ There is not yet, however, a proper scholarly edition of the commentary by Germanos I, nor of the eleventh-century commentary by Nicholas of Andida, which is the apparent origin of many of the accretions to the textus receptus of Germanos. While philological attention to these texts remains a desideratum, the arguments made here based on their contents are unlikely to be significantly altered by improved editions.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS VOLUME

This book is organized in large part as a series of readings of the surviving liturgical vestments against their several contexts: the church interior and its decoration, the unfolding liturgical rites of the church, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy and its relationship to other hierarchies of imperial officials and the heavenly court of Christ himself. Each reading, of course, adds an additional level of detail to the previous ones, resulting, it is hoped, in a multidimensional understanding of the meaning that these works of art held for those who commissioned them and those who viewed them. At no time, however, are we speaking of unchanging contexts. It is critical to insist on the continuous changes underway both in the vestments themselves and in the visual and cultural contexts that they inhabited in the twelfth through fifteenth centuries. The picture this book presents is limited by the nature of the available data to something like a series of still shots of particular images and ideas in a particular configuration. We should, however, bear in mind that these configurations were always undergoing changes. To the extent that the view of any period of Byzantine culture as static and immutable prevails, it is as a testimony to the illusions of permanence that Byzantine literature and ceremonial wove about the unstable realities of an empire without fixed borders, without a defined mode of imperial succession, and with contested sources of religious authority.

The illusion of immutability has first to be challenged in the material itself, the vestments of the Byzantine rite. Both apologists for Orthodoxy and outside observers have seen the Byzantine liturgy, both in its text and in its visible externals, as having preserved in amber the rite of the Patristic or even Apostolic era. Serious liturgical scholarship over the course of the twentieth century, of course, has disproved this contention. Within the Late Byzantine Church, the myth of immutability was actively propagated by the opponents of union with Rome. Repeated attempts at effecting a reconciliation of the Orthodox Church with the papacy, promoted by emperors who hoped thereby to gain military assistance from the West, provoked a concerted backlash within the Byzantine Church. Those practices of the Western Church that differed from the Byzantine liturgy were, rightly or wrongly, branded as deviations from tradition, while the usage of the Greeks was burnished with the gloss of immemorial antiquity. In such a climate, the new phenomenon of embroidered liturgical dress could hardly be acknowledged as an innovation. The aim of the first chapter, then, is both to present the forms and functions of the vestments used in the Byzantine rite and also the

substantial changes these underwent in the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. Although many of the details may be familiar to students of Byzantine art and liturgy, it is hoped that the overall picture that emerges from the textual and visual sources will reward the effort of a fresh examination. As we shall see, the system of liturgical costume that prevailed for most of the Byzantine period distinguished its wearers according to their sacramental order only- i.e. bishop, priest, or deacon. In the late period, additions and alterations to the repertory of vestments allowed them to reflect the wearer's rank within the ecclesiastical hierarchy as well. This change is of fundamental importance both for the decoration of liturgical vestments and for their relation to the hierarchy of dress employed in the imperial court.

The second chapter focuses on the imagery employed on the vestments. The identification of the images themselves is hardly a challenge; as we shall see, the range of subject matter embroidered on liturgical costume is far narrower than that encountered in contemporary frescoes or icons. The context, in this case the supporting liturgical garments, provides the challenging questions. What rationale drove embroiderers to choose particular subjects for particular vestments? Why do certain subjects appear on some vestments and not on others, and why is the iconographic repertory so conservative? How does the decoration on the vestments connect to their liturgical use?

Chapter three treats the vestments within the context of the Church, itself a multilayered phenomenon at the heart of which lies the celebration of the Divine Liturgy of the Eucharist. The liturgical prayers and actions are paralleled in visual form by the embroidered imagery, which is particularly allied with a tradition of Byzantine commentaries that unfold the symbolism of the rite. These texts translate the actions of the clergy into recreations of the events of salvation history, and these latter scenes form a major component of the imagery on the vestments worn in the rite. At the same time, the physical context of the Byzantine church building, with its formalized programme of images in fresco or mosaic and the increasingly prominent display of icons screening the sanctuary, forms a visual field within which the vested clergy moved. The juxtapositions of fixed and moving imagery themselves generate and intensify the meaning of the vestments.

Chapter four draws parallels between the hierarchy of costume used in the imperial court and the increasingly elaborated hierarchy of the

Church. The display of rank by means of dress in the imperial court was a longstanding Byzantine tradition inherited from Late Antiquity. What is not always recognized is the degree to which imagery on costume played a role in differentiating rank and establishing symbolic displays of fealty. This function of woven or embroidered imagery was thus available for adaptation to the ecclesiastical context as the vestments of the clergy began to delineate rank as well as clerical order. The Church drew on various aspects of the established hierarchy of court dress in order to make such distinctions clear; religious imagery, which appears on vestments in the midst of this change, can thus also be connected to the imperial imagery that helped to distinguish rank in the secular realm.

The final chapter extends this hierarchy into the realm of the Byzantine image of heaven. The Byzantine view of the other world has often been characterized as a reflection, in perfected terms, of the lived experience of the imperial city and its court.⁴⁴ Imperial costume and its representation in the visual arts helped to articulate the analogy between the hierarchy of power stretching down from Christ and that originating with the emperor, his earthly vicar. Frescoes and icons of the Late Byzantine period introduce ecclesiastical vestments into the depiction of heaven alongside the earlier use of imperial dress. In the case of the liturgical garments, however, they appear as clothing for Christ as well as for the angels; thus what had been a visual analogy suggested by imperial dress becomes a direct depiction of the heavenly hierarchy as a mirror of the church itself. Through these uses of liturgical dress in painting, we glimpse changes not only in the ideological position of the Byzantine Church, but in the status of its images.

Although we must read liturgical vestments in their several contexts to gain an understanding of the intention of those who commissioned them and the responses of those who viewed them in use, this by no means indicates that they were marginal to the art of the Late Byzantine period. On the contrary, the interplay between actual vestments and their depiction in painting places these objects at the nexus of an inflationary economy of images. As we shall see, the political weakness of Byzantium in its final centuries led not to an abandonment of the empire's old ideological claims to divine sanction, but to increasingly audacious rhetorical, ritual, and visual articulations of them. While the real power of the Orthodox Church increased alongside the waning of imperial power, in the symbolic realm of art, both strove to attach themselves more and more closely to the sanction of the divine. This book will show the role that

vestments and their images played in symbolically securing an unsteady society to the firm moorings not of earth, but of heaven.

Part I

Liturgical Vestments in the Orthodox Church

The Vestments of the Byzantine Rite Described

Before undertaking any sort of reading of the surviving Byzantine vestments, it is necessary first to establish the facts, in so far as they are knowable, about liturgical dress and its development in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, that is, between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries. This is an area where liturgical historians have laid an important foundation through the marshalling of textual evidence. I will not attempt to reduplicate their work here. The rise of Anglo-Catholic ritualism in England and the contemporaneous liturgical movement in the Roman Catholic Church on the Continent spurred the creation of a thriving literature on medieval vestments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The culmination of their endeavour is doubtless the Jesuit scholar Joseph Braun's work *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik*, which makes good on the promise of its title in 797 densely spaced pages.

The evolution of liturgical vesture into a category of sacred objects from the secular dress of Late Antiquity remains a fascinating subject, but it is one that hardly occurred to Byzantine authors on the liturgy, who were concerned with the mystical symbolism of vestments, not their historic origins. For all their diligence in scouring the textual records for the history of vestments, scholars of the generations before the Second World War too often shared the prejudices of their medieval sources, being caught up in the seductive idea of the Byzantine liturgy as a monument of unageing intellect that had achieved its permanent form by the ninth century, if not earlier. Of course, this was not the case. Earlier sources had later usages grafted on to them, while the later *diataxeis*, or collections of ritual directions, were repeatedly revised to reflect newer customs. What emerges from a detailed examination of the medieval development of liturgical dress in Byzantium, however, is neither a frozen maintenance of patristic forms nor a steady pace of continuous evolution. Instead, periods of relative stasis alternate with periods of substantial change and development. The system of clerical vesture as it emerged from the period of iconoclasm remained virtually unchanged for well over two

centuries. The rapid addition of new insignia that began in the late eleventh century and continued through the fourteenth stands in sharp contrast to this earlier stability and simplicity. As we shall see, the structure and development of this latter system articulates a very different way of viewing the ecclesiastical hierarchy than had prevailed in earlier centuries, and it is this new paradigm that forms the environment for the phenomenon of liturgical vestments embroidered with sacred images. In short, a system of dress that had formerly used a handful of insignia to differentiate among the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon was transformed into a far more complicated system that articulated a hierarchical image of the Church from the patriarchs downwards.

In order to present this evolution more clearly, this chapter will present in order the ensembles of insignia worn by the major orders of deacon, priest, and bishop before turning to the new insignia introduced at the upper reaches of the Church hierarchy, treating the latter under the rubric of "privileged vestments".² Finally, it will introduce the evidence for when figural embroidery was first applied to the vestments of the Orthodox clergy.

THE VESTMENTS OF THE DEACON

Of the three major orders of clergy in Byzantium, the deacon wore the simplest costume (see fig. 1.1). His vestments consisted of a plain, long-sleeved tunic, the sticharion (comparable to the Western alb) and a long stole, the orarion, worn over the shoulder. Only in the late period did the deacon begin to wear epimanikia, or liturgical cuffs, which added a trace of ornamental elaboration to his vesture.



Fig. I.I. St Nicholas ordained as deacon, Church of St George, Staro Nagoricino, fresco, 1318. From N. P. Sevicenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983), pl. 21.3.

The deacon's tunic, the sticharion, developed out of the popular chiton or tunica alba, the near-ubiquitous everyday garment of Late Antiquity.³ Unlike the alb, its cognate vestment in the Latin rite, the Byzantine deacon's sticharion was never covered by an outer garment corresponding to the Western dalmatic. The sticharion was a tunic with wide arms reaching not quite to the wrists and open sides joined with ties along the hems.⁴ Its name (ultimately derived from the Greek *GT[Xos* or *aToiXos*, meaning a row, column, or file) refers to the original decoration of the garment with vertical clavi or stripes; by the Middle Byzantine period, however, deacon's sticharia were plains

The original material of the sticharion was apparently linen, although silk appears among later examples,⁶ and it was normally white in colour, although red, as a symbol of Christ's passion, was worn in penitential seasons.'

The orarion is the diaconal stole of the Byzantine rite, consisting of long, narrow band of cloth about two metres in length. During most of the liturgy, it was worn over the deacon's left shoulder, extending down the chest and back.⁸ Byzantine sources stipulate, however, that just before the communion the orarion be wrapped around the deacon's body like a harness, crossed in the back and brought forwards over the shoulders and tucked under itself in front.⁹ Curiously, the angel-deacons that habitually assist Christ in the administration of the Communion of the Apostles in Late Byzantine frescoes generally wear the orarion in its normal, free-hanging style, contrary to the prescriptions of contemporary liturgical rubrics.

The orarion, besides being the primary insigne of his order, is integral to the deacon's role in the liturgy. The free end hanging in front of the chest is grasped with three fingers of the right hand and used almost like a semaphore in giving signals to begin a liturgical action, intone a chant, or bless an object.¹⁰ By the Palaiologan period, the deacon was making such gestures a dozen or more times over the course of the liturgy." This frequent waving of the end of the orarion suggested to various liturgical commentators the movement of angel's wings.¹² Because of its association with the angels, it was often inscribed with the words of the seraphic hymn heard by Isaiah in his vision of the Lord in the Temple (Isaiah 6:2-3), 'Holy, holy, holy' ' 13 The same hymn, the liturgical Sanctus, introduces the consecration of the bread and wine in the Eucharist, so the inscription furthers the linkage between the ministry of the angels around the throne of God and the ministry of deacons at the Christian altar.

The vestments prescribed for the deacon were quite plain apart from the embroidered inscriptions on the orarion. However, the Diataxis of Philotheos Kokkinos (before 1353) prescribes epimanikia for the deacon.¹⁴ These liturgical cuffs are a pair of embroidered trapezoidal panels fastened at the wrists by means of ties. The epimanikia are first mentioned in a letter by Peter of Antioch to Michael Keroularios in 1054.¹⁵ The context of the letter implies that the writer and the recipient, both patriarchs, were accustomed to wearing the epimanikia as a privilege of their rank. In the late twelfth century, the epimanikia are defined as a special episcopal prerogative by the patriarchal canonist (nomophylax) Theodore Balsamon, who was himself elected

titular Patriarch of Antioch in 1193.¹⁶ Balsamon's statements on canon law tend, not surprisingly, to defend the privileges of the higher clergy against their appropriation by lower ranks. By the thirteenth century, though, the epimanikia were definitely being worn by priests as well as bishops.¹⁷ The evidence of the diataxeis is that by the mid-fourteenth century these insignia had 'trickled down' the hierarchy and were being worn by deacons as well. The deacon wore the epimanikia not on the sticharion itself (the sleeves of which do not reach to the wrist) but on the underlying cassock, the anterior.¹⁸

The liturgical rubrics for the Eucharist, found in ritual manuals or diataxeis of the Late Byzantine period, shed further light on the layered development of the deacon's vesture.¹⁹ According to these texts, the deacon enters the sanctuary with the priest before the service, carrying his vestments with him. The deacon first asks the priest's blessing on his sticharion and orarion, then recites formulaic prayers as he dons his sticharion, and, from the fourteenth century, the liturgical cuffs, or epimanikia. The rubrics give no prayer, however, for his vesting with the orarion. The discrepancy between those vestments that receive the priest's blessing and those for which the deacon is given a prayer to recite while vesting is noteworthy. The deacon must seek the priest's blessing on the garments, since, unlike a bishop or a priest, he is not capable of pronouncing blessings himself, but only the sticharion and orarion receive the priest's blessing. The omission of a blessing on the epimanikia seems to reflect their late addition to the deacon's vesture. The prayers recited by the deacon while vesting, on the other hand, omit any mention of the orarion, his emblem par excellence. This omission suggests that the prayers for the sticharion and the epimanikia originated among the higher orders of clergy and only later were extended to the use of deacons. The ritual texts thus reflect the same movement from the upper levels of the clerical hierarchy downwards that the insignia themselves undergo in the Late Byzantine period.

THE VESTMENTS OF THE PRIEST

The priest of the Byzantine rite, like the deacon, wore a sticharion with the stole appropriate to his order, the epitachelion. Over this, however, he wore a full outer garment, the phelonion. Also, like the deacon, the priest was eventually accorded the right to wear the epimanikia on his wrists (see fig. 1.2).

The sticharion of the priest differs from that of the deacon only in its cut, with narrow sleeves reaching to the wrist. It was worn belted

with a flat, narrow girdle, or zone, about the waist. Like the deacon's sticharion, the priest's was generally plain, although in the postByzantine period sticharia were occasionally made from patterned textiles or decorated with embroidery.²⁰ The broad vertical stripes, known in Greek as *potamoi* ('rivers') and clearly descended from the *clavus* bands of late antique secular tunics, remained a perquisite reserved to bishops.²¹



Fig. 1.2. St Nicholas ordained as priest (detail), fresco, early 14th century. St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike. Photo: Foto Marburg / Art resource, NY.

The *epitrachelion*, or *stole*, was the *sine qua non* of the priestly vesture in Byzantium. It is first mentioned in the eighth-century liturgical commentary of Germanos of Constantinople, although its depiction in art comes rather later.²² In its original form, it resembled the deacon's *orarion*: a narrow band up to about a metre and a half in length, worn about the neck with both ends hanging parallel in front and held in place under the zone or belt.²³ This is how the *epitrachelion* is worn in most wall painting of the twelfth through fifteenth centuries. In a later form, the two ends are joined at intervals along their parallel edges by buttons or bells. While this arrangement is often encountered among surviving pieces, it is difficult to determine whether such fastenings are original or the product of later alteration. Around the seventeenth century-beyond the scope of this

study-another form of the stole was introduced, fashioned from a single piece of cloth with an opening for the wearer's head.²⁴

The use of the epitachelion at the liturgy was imposed, on pain of heresy, by a canon of indeterminate date.²⁵ The early fifteenth-century archbishop and prolific author on the Byzantine liturgy, Symeon of Thessalonike, held that its use was optional only at the services of the minor hours, since these offices are essentially private in character.²⁶ For the other services, according to Symeon, if there were no epitachelion available, one would have to be improvised from a girdle or other piece of cloth, which could not subsequently be returned to common use.²⁷ The sacred character of the vestment is attested by the fact that Byzantine law allowed priests to swear on their epitachelia rather than on the usual book of

The phelonion is the outer vestment of the priest, corresponding to the chasuble of the Latin rite. Like the bell-chasuble of the medieval West, the phelonion was originally a semicircle of material sewn into a cone, with a simple opening for the head. It might be made of wool, silk, or linen.²⁹ Unlike the Latin chasuble, however, the phelonion was worn at all major liturgical functions, not only at the Eucharist. It was in use by the sixth century as an outer garment of priests and bishops, as is witnessed by the mosaics of Ravenna and Porec.³⁰ Nevertheless, the phelonion was only gradually distinguished from the secular paenula-the usual outer cloak of Roman civilians-from which it took its shape.³¹

As in the Latin West, the cut of this vestment was eventually modified due to its interference with the free movement of the hands of the celebrant. In the various diataxeis, the celebrant is instructed to raise or lower the phelonion, that is, to hitch it up to free the hands or to let it fall slack around the arms. The assistants at the pontifical liturgy are likewise directed to uncover the hands of the celebrant before washing them.³² This evidence points to an ample garment, roughly conical in form, which would have impeded rapid movement. Already in the miniatures of the Menologion of Basil II, we see the phelonion folded up onto the wearer's shoulder in order to free his arm for action. Symeon of Thessalonike speaks of the sides of the phelonion being gathered 'like wings' to uncover the hands during the service,³³ and certain late frescoes show the cutting away of material from the front of the vestment in order to allow greater freedom of motion, a process that continued into the modern period.³⁴

The wearing of epimanikia by priests, as we have already noted,

was a relatively late development. Although the early sources reserve these insignia to bishops, the cuffs are first prescribed for priests in the twelfth or thirteenth century diataxis.³⁵ Like the epimanikia of the bishop (discussed below), the priest's epimanikia are a supplement to the sticharion, trapezoidal pieces of material fastened over the ends of the sleeves with cloth bands.³⁶

When a priest officiated as celebrant, he himself vested before blessing the sticharion and orarion of the deacon. He blessed each vestment with the sign of the cross and recited the prescribed prayer while putting it on.³⁷ The priest, like the deacon, was thus fully vested before beginning the prothesis rite, the ceremonial preparation of the bread and wine preceding the Eucharist proper. The vesting of both ministers took place in the bema, the sanctuary, concealed from the view of the laity. The direction in the Diataxis of Philotheos that the deacon should go off to one side of the sanctuary to vest emphasizes the essentially hidden character of the vesting rite, which, like the prothesis, was a ceremonial addition separate from the public liturgy.³⁸

THE VESTMENTS OF THE BISHOP

The vesture of a Byzantine bishop, not surprisingly, was more complex than either that of the deacon or of the priest, and it became even more so over the last centuries of the empire (see fig. 1.3). Over the sticharion, epitachelion, and phelonion that he wore in common with priests, the bishop wore the broad outer stole of his office, the omophorion. Apart from this ancient vestment, bishops in the Late Byzantine period accrued other insignia, including the epimanikia and the epigonation.



Fig. 1.3. Vestments of the bishop, 14th century. Icon of SS Athanasios the Great and Cyril of Alexandria, early 14th century. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, and Yuri Molodkovets.

The sticharion of the bishop was distinguished from those of priests by its ornamentation. The earliest sticharia, like the secular tunics of Late Antiquity, bore applied ornamental stripes (potamoi) and decorations.³⁹ By the twelfth century, however, Theodore Balsamon could describe these ornaments as strictly episcopal prerogatives.⁴⁰ The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of St Germanos touches on the sticharion of the bishop, the stripes of which it interprets as the blood that poured

forth from the Lord's pierced side.⁴¹ Both Germanos and Pseudo-Sophronios mention *loria*, by which they seem to mean the stripes at the ends of the sleeves of the *sticharion*, symbolizing the fetters that bound Christ at his passion.⁴² Symeon of Thessalonike specifies that the *sticharion* is usually white, but also mentions the use of purple *sticharia* by bishops in fasting seasons.⁴³

The *epitrachelion* of the bishop was identical in form to that of the priest and was similarly worn beneath the *phelonion* or, later, its substitute, the *sakkos*. Through most of the Byzantine period the *phelonion* of the bishop was identical to that of the priest—a simple conical garment that could be of any solid colour. Beginning in the eleventh century, a *phelonion* ornamented with multiple crosses, the *polystaurion phelonion*, came into use for certain prelates. Because, like the *sakkos*, it originated at the highest levels of the Church hierarchy, its history will be treated below under the heading of 'Privileged Vestments'.

The *omophorion* was the preeminent symbol of the Byzantine episcopate. It corresponds in both form and origin with the *pallium* of the Roman Church. The similarity of the *omophorion* to its Western counterpart scandalized the Ottonian envoy to Constantinople Liutprand of Cremona, who charged that Orthodox bishops had assumed the *pallium* without papal authorization.⁴⁴ Evidence indicates, however, that all bishops in the East enjoyed the use of this vestment from an early date.⁴⁵ The *omophorion*, a length of white cloth measuring approximately 350 x 25 cm, was worn wrapped about the shoulders of the bishop with the two ends falling in front and behind the left shoulder. The draping of the *omophorion* on the bishop's shoulders suggested the interpretation, first attributed to Isidore of Pelousion and later incorporated into the liturgical commentary of Germanos of Constantinople, of the lost sheep of Matthew 18:

The bishop's *omophorion* is made of wool, and not of linen. It represents the lost sheep that our Saviour went to seek and brought back upon his shoulders.⁴⁶

Despite this symbolic tradition, the *omophorion* was as often made of silk as of wool.⁴⁷ It was generally ornamented with four or five applied crosses, or *poloi*, which frequently bore figural embroidery.

Additional insignia for bishops emerged over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The *epimanikia* are, in origin, an episcopal vestment. Although one scholar has cited references dating

to the ninth-tenth centuries for epimanikia being worn by bishops at baptisms, whether these were in fact the ancestors of the later embroidered cuffs is doubtful.⁴⁸ The first secure reference to the vestment in its present form is the eleventh-century letter of Patriarch Peter of Antioch to Michael Keroularios in 1054, in which he notes gold-embroidered epimanikia as a detail of the patriarchal Like the priest, the bishop wore his epimanikia fastened over the ends of the sleeves of the sticharion.⁵⁰

Another ensign that distinguished bishops in the later Byzantine centuries was the epigonation. The epigonation evolved from the encheirion, a decorative handkerchief worn tucked into the bishop's zone on the right. The epigonation, the form still worn today, is a stiffened lozenge-shaped panel of cloth worn suspended from the girdle by a knotted loop of material. The first representations of the encheirion are found in the manuscript miniatures of the Menologion of Basil II (979-984), and the item thereafter appears frequently in art until the fourteenth century.⁵² As the richness of its embroidered decoration grew, the encheirion became increasingly rigid and by the late twelfth century had developed into a stiff square of material hung by a loop from the girdle (zone). An intermediate stage in this development, with the encheirion completely covered in gold embroidery, is depicted in the mid-twelfth-century mosaics of Cefalù in Sicily.⁵³ Representations of epigonatia with figural decoration are occasionally encountered in painting, as in the fresco of St Leo of Rome in the church of the Hodegetria at Mistra.⁵⁴

Textual references to the encheirion and epigonation leave no doubt that they were specifically episcopal insignia.⁵⁵ In the eleventh century, Peter of Antioch's letter to Michael Keroularios mentions gold-embroidered encheiria worn by Byzantine bishops.⁵⁶ Balsamon, the first writer to refer to the epigonation by that name, similarly restricts its use to bishops.⁵⁷ By the fourteenth century, there was even an official in the patriarchal retinue whose duty was to affix the patriarch's epigonation when he vested for the liturgy.⁵⁸ Later the use of the ensign was extended, by special permission, to certain ecclesiastics below episcopal rank: archpriests, archimandrites, protoi and the like.⁵⁹

The evolution of ceremonial for the Byzantine pontifical liturgy over the course of several centuries impacted the vesting of the bishop. The Book of Ceremonies attests that in the tenth century, the bishop still entered and left the church fully vested.⁶⁰ In the case of a stational service, the bishop would have arrived in procession at the church

where he was to celebrate the liturgy already clad in his liturgical vestments.⁶¹ On occasions, not involving an outdoor procession, the bishop would wait, vested, in the narthex until the time of his entrance.⁶² The twelfth-century diataxis of the patriarchal liturgy of Hagia Sophia maintains this traditional usage.⁶³ The fourteenth-century Diataxis of Gemistos (c. 1380), on the other hand, directs that the patriarch be seated in the nave for vesting prior to the beginning of the liturgy.⁶⁴ The ritual clothing of the bishop or patriarch in the sight of the congregation, as became standard from the fourteenth century, contrasts with the private vesting of the priest and deacon. According to Gemistos, the patriarch would enter the church wearing a large cloak, the mandyas, over his street dress. After removing the mandyas, the patriarch was vested by the assisting deacons, who said the prescribed prayers on his behalf.⁶⁵ Finally, an ecclesiastical official, the kanstresios, placed the omophorion on the patriarch's shoulders, reciting the prayer, 'Having raised upon your shoulder, O Christ, our nature that had strayed, you presented it to God the Father.'⁶⁶ The bishop then remained at his throne in the nave until the Little Entrance, the point in the service at which the bishop formerly made his solemn entrance into the church.⁶⁷

Another peculiarity of the bishop's vesting was his removal of the omophorion at the Gospel. This usage was apparently of great antiquity, attested as early as the fifth century.⁶⁸ In the twelfth-century rubrics of the pontifical liturgy, the kanstresios is directed to take off the bishop's omophorion during the final alleluia before the Gospel and replace it upon his shoulders after the dismissal.⁶⁹ The Diataxis of Gemistos supplies the further detail that the kanstresios carries the patriarch's omophorion in procession during the Great Entrance.⁷⁰ In the later sources, the bishop resumes the omophorion at the elevation, before the distribution of communion.⁷¹ As with the wrapping of the deacon's orarion at the time of communion, the bishop's removal of his omophorion was interpreted as a gesture of humility. According to Kabasilas, the omophorion represents the bishop's authority. It is thus put aside for those parts of the service where he functions as a simple priest.⁷² Isidore of Pelousion articulates the symbolism of the omophorion as follows:

For the bishop fulfils his work being in the image of Christ, and by his costume he shows to all that he is the imitator of the good and great shepherd, the one who has been appointed to carry the weaknesses of the flock. And note well, when the true shepherd should draw near through the opening of the venerable gospels, the bishop both rises and takes off the costume of imitation, showing that Lord himself is at

hand, who is the leader and God and master of the flock.⁷³

In effect, when wearing the omophorion, the bishop acts as a stand-in for Christ, a role that is emphasized by the dignity in which he is vested in the sight of the people. The bishop's function as the image of Christ is effaced, according to the texts, through his removal of the omophorion in deference to the more perfect revelations of Christ in the Gospel and in the Eucharist.

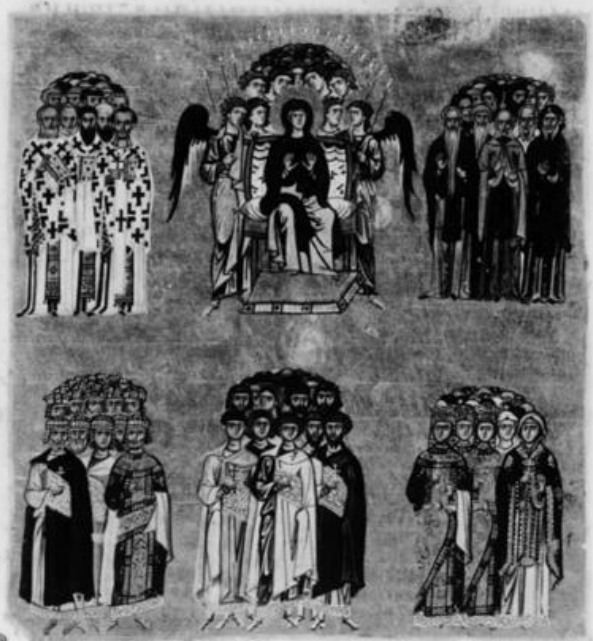
PRIVILEGED VESTMENTS

In manuscript images of the late eleventh and early twelfth century, certain holy bishops appear dressed in phelonion decorated with repeating patterns of crosses and right angles. These miniatures represent the first appearance in art of the polystaurion phelonion (literally, a phelonion with many crosses). Perhaps the earliest of the manuscripts is the late eleventh-century gospel lectionary Vat. gr. 1156, which shows the polystaurion worn by a patriarch in the ceremony of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (fol. 250v) and in the portrait of Patriarch Nicholas I of Constantinople (fol. 271).⁷⁴ In the group of clergy shown in the early twelfth-century Dogmatic Panoply of Euthymios Zygabenos (Vat. Gr. 666), John Chrysostom alone is privileged to have crosses on his phelonion.⁷⁵ In the Marian homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos (Vat. Gr. cod. 1162, fol. 6), a manuscript dating probably to the second quarter of the twelfth century, the hierarchs SS Gregory, Basil, and John Chrysostom each wear the polystaurion phelonion (see fig. 1.4).⁷⁶ The first author to mention the polystaurion, John Zonaras, again around the beginning of the twelfth century, allowed its use not only to the four Orthodox patriarchs but also to the 'exarchs' of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, namely the bishops of Caesarea, Ephesus, Thessalonike, and Corinth.⁷⁷ The figures who wear the garment in its earliest representations, however, tend to confirm the slightly later testimony of Theodore Balsamon that the polystaurion was a vestment reserved to patriarchs.⁷¹ Symeon of Thessalonike, writing around 1400, is the first authority to allow its use to all metropolitans.⁷⁹ To judge from the evidence of monumental painting, the polystaurion attained great currency in the twelfth through fifteenth centuries.⁸⁰

Fig. 1.4. Bishops wearing the polystaurion phelonion, Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos c. 1130-1150. Vat. Gr. 1162, fol. 6. Photo © 2011 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, reproduced by permission of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved.

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The introduction of the polystaurion towards the end of the eleventh century is of critical importance, for it is the first vestment that differentiates its wearer not by the order of his sacramental ordination but by the rank of his see. Before the appearance of the polystaurion, it would have been impossible to differentiate by costume an image of a patriarch of Constantinople or Antioch from the bishop of a humble rural see. The transformation that the new vestments wrought on the image of the bishop is clarified by two superimposed images of St Basil in the church of the Anargyroi at Kastoria (see fig. 1.5 The earlier, tenth-century layer is typical of representations of bishop-saints at this time: Basil wears a phelonion and is without ornament

apart from the crosses on his omophorion. The later layer, dating from the twelfth century, shows his phelonion covered in crosses and his other vestments embroidered with gold. The polystaurion set the pattern that took shape in the twelfth century and continued through the fourteenth: one of the gradual addition of exclusive insignia at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, supplemented with newer and still more exalted insignia as the formerly exclusive ones trickled down to a broader and broader section of the episcopate. The pyramidal scheme that this use of the vestments imposed on the Church hierarchy could be used as a visual means both to cement central control and to signify rebellion against it.

The attempt at patriarchal control over the polystaurion is well illustrated by a fresco in the church of the Dormition at Volotovo, on the outskirts of Novgorod. The painting shows two fourteenth-century archbishops, Aleksei and Moses, both wearing phelonias with applied crosses.⁸² By remarkable chance, a letter of 1370 survives from Patriarch Philotheos of Constantinople to Aleksei of Novgorod. The patriarch explicitly denies Archbishop Aleksei's right to wear the polystaurion, insisting that the privilege of wearing a phelonion with crosses was given as a personal favour to his predecessor, Archbishop Moses.⁸³ The context of the patriarch's letter makes it clear that Aleksei's usurpation of the polystaurion is a sign of insubordination to Moscow, the political and religious centre of Byzantium's foreign policy in Russia.⁸⁴ The bishop was ordered both to remove the offending crosses from his phelonion and to make obeisance to the Metropolitan and Grand Prince.⁸⁵



Fig. 1.5. St Basil. Superimposed frescos of the 10th (above) and 12th centuries (below). H Anargyroi, Kastoria. Photo by Velissarios Voutsas, reproduced from Pelikanides, Kastoria, fig. 4.

Despite the evident popularity of the vestment, no polystaurion phelonion has survived from the Byzantine period.⁸⁶ As the distinguishing vestment of the highest prelates it was gradually supplanted by a garment of another type, the sakkos. There are three garments going by this name in Byzantium. The first and most ancient sense of the word sakkos is a garment worn on penitential occasions. Bishops wearing this garment in procession on the occasion of a hailstorm are illustrated in the ninth-century manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, Paris gr. 510, fol. 78.⁸⁷ It is also shown worn by emperors in penitential processions in the Menologion of Basil.⁸⁸ This garment is a long, loose-fitting tunic of dark colour. The second usage of the term is for an imperial garment, a black tunic worn under the Toros, the imperial scarf decorated with gems and pearls. It is apparently the Late Byzantine equivalent to the earlier divitesion.⁸⁹ According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the emperor wore the sakkos at Christmas, on Palm Sunday, and at his coronation.⁹⁰ Finally, the word designates a dalmatic-like liturgical vestment first attested in the twelfth century.

As in so many cases, the twelfth-century canonist Theodore Balsamon is our first witness to the liturgical use of the sakkos. He deems it, along with the polystaurion, to be strictly reserved to the patriarch.⁹¹ Demetrios Chomatenos, writing shortly thereafter, also mentions the sakkos as a patriarchal vestment, worn also by certain archbishops of exceptional status.⁹² Chomatenos further stipulates that it is worn only on the three 'brilliant dominical feasts' of Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.⁹³ Symeon of Thessalonike defines the wearers of the sakkos as the patriarchs and the especially exalted archbishops (oi TCOV dPXLErnLUK nT(aV E~aipETot) who enjoy quasipatriarchal status: those of Cyprus, Ochrid, Turnovo, and Pec.⁹⁴ The archbishop of Thessalonike also describes the sakkos as a robe with short sleeves and covered with crosses, imitating in its form the purple robe worn by Christ at his mockery.⁹⁵ The episcopal sakkos appears in art by the end of the thirteenth century in the portrait of an archbishop in the Peribleptos, Ochrid (1295).⁹⁶ The sakkos appears again, this time adorned with busts of holy figures within a vine scroll, in the early-fourteenth century fresco of Sava of Serbia in the church of the Bogorodica Ljeviska at Prizren (1308-1309) (see fig. 1.6). Only shortly thereafter, the patriarchal sakkos appears as the costume of Christ in the scene of the Communion of the Apostles at the church of St Nikita, Cucer and at St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike (both frescoes dating from the second decade of the fourteenth century). In the post-Byzantine period, the use of the sakkos was extended to the bishops of more and more sees, although it did not become the

normative vestment of the Orthodox episcopate until modern times.



Fig. 1.6. St Sava, fresco, 1308-1309. Bogorodica Ljeviska, Prizren, Photo courtesy of the institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia-Belgrade.

The mitra, or mitre, has been worn since at least the seventeenth century by bishops in the Orthodox rite. Nevertheless, its history prior to the modern period is one of the most disputed aspects of Byzantine liturgical dress. Furthermore, because of the scarcity of textual mentions of headgear and the eclecticism of their vocabulary, the mitre presents philological problems of linking the term with a specific form.⁹⁷ Rather than attempt philological precision in the treatment of these terms,⁹⁸ it will simplify our task to refer to any tall hat worn ceremonially by the clergy (whether or not while celebrating the Eucharist) as a mitre.

There is ample evidence that liturgical headcovering in Byzantium was a late development. Theodore Balsamon states categorically in the twelfth century that the patriarch of Alexandria alone among Orthodox clergy, was permitted to celebrate the liturgy wearing headgear.⁹⁹ In the fifteenth century Symeon of Thessalonike was still repeating the same claim.¹⁰⁰ Further indirect evidence testifies against the use of a mitre in the Orthodox rite, such as the accusation that the Uniate patriarch John Bekkos (1275-1282) aped the Pope in wearing a mitre.¹⁰¹ Several modern scholars have taken the position that the mitre was not adopted by Orthodox bishops until Cyril Loukaris, quondam patriarch of Alexandria, was transferred to Constantinople in 1620.¹⁰² Others have put forward the hypothesis that the mitre, modelled on the imperial crown, was assumed by the Orthodox hierarchy after the fall of Constantinople. 103

Other evidence exists, however, both visual and textual, that may indicate the use of patriarchal headgear resembling the mitre in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In his History, John Kantakouzenos fixes upon the headdress (KaAu7-rpa) with gold-embroidered images worn by Patriarch John XIV Kalekas at the coronation of Emperor John V in 1341:

The patriarch, since he was not able to change his rank, put on a rather more august habit, and in his signatures he was accustomed to use a sky-blue colour, and he adorned the kalyptra upon his head (which is customary for the patriarchs to wear if they are not among the class of monks, made of white linen folded up in front) with gold, having the engraved images of Christ our Saviour, and of his immaculate Mother the Theotokos, and John the Baptist.¹⁰⁴

It is interesting to note that Kantakouzenos is, quite clearly, familiar with the form of the headgear, but considers the decoration with sacred figures to be an innovation. He was not, of course, present at the coronation, having already been excommunicated by the patriarch and effectively barred from the city of Constantinople by [Kalekas and his supporters](#). His description of the patriarch's regalia, therefore, must come at second hand. Despite its somewhat vague description, visual parallels suggest that the headdress in question was a mitre.¹⁰⁵ In a fresco (c. 1380) in the narthex of the Serbian Patriarchate at Pee, the Patriarch Sava wears a tall, slightly flaring mitre, decorated in front with the bust of Christ between two archangels (see fig. 1.7 [Plate 2]).¹⁰⁶ A post-Byzantine mitre in the form of the monastic cap, or *koukoulion*, decorated with angels around its perimeter and the Trinity on its crown, survives in the monastery of Esphigmenou. While it is dated by some scholars to the fourteenth century, it is unlikely to be much earlier than the end of the fifteenth century (see fig. 1.8).¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the surviving mitre presented by Katarina Kantakouzene to the church of the Dormition in Belgrade is placed firmly in the mid-fifteenth century by its pearlembroidered dedicatory inscriptions.¹⁰⁸ A donor fresco in the church of Kremikovci, Bulgaria, dated 1493, shows Kalevit, Metropolitan of Sofia, wearing a polystaurion phelonion and a hemispherical mitre. The latter is applied with pearled bands around its circumference and in an arc from front to back.¹⁰⁹ Finally, the fresco picturing the Council of Chalcedon in the church of SS Peter and Paul at Turnovo, usually dated to the fifteenth century, shows Pope Leo in the Western mitre, but his co-patriarchs wearing domed mitres decorated with crosses. It is impossible to state with certainty that these examples are liturgical in the strictest sense. None indicates that a prelate actually celebrated the liturgy wearing such headgear, and, given the concurrence of Symeon of Thessalonike and Theodore Balsamon, it is quite possible that they never did so in the Byzantine period. Nevertheless, the examples just cited are clearly associated with ecclesiastical functions and are not 'mufti'. Their intent, as amply demonstrated by the Turnovo fresco, is to differentiate prelates of patriarchal rank from the ranks of bishops and archbishops. The introduction of headgear is thus consistent with the pattern of hierarchical differentiation that emerges from other aspects of liturgical dress in the Late Byzantine period.



Fig. 1.7. St. Sava, fresco, c. 1380. Church of St Demetrios, Patriarchate, Pee. Photo courtesy of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia-Belgrade.



Fig. 1.8. Embroidered mitre. Monastery of Esphigmenou, Mt. Athos, late fifteenth century. From Millet, *Broderies*, pl. CLIII.

THE INTRODUCTION OF EMBROIDERY

The first evidence for embroideries on Byzantine liturgical dress appears against this background of multiplying insignia for the [higher orders of clergy](#). [The earliest surviving Byzantine embroidered vestments date from the late twelfth through the thirteenth century.](#)" While it is true that costumes with woven biblical scenes survive from the Early Byzantine period, textual sources referring to such garb make it clear that it was popular dress of the laity and not in any way liturgical.¹¹² Furthermore, the production of textiles with sacred subjects seems to have ceased with the advent of [Even figural textiles in domestic contexts were targeted by the ban on images.](#) ¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the weaving of patterned silks on a drawloom was a technology-intensive process that relied on major investments of capital and expertise. While humbler types of weaving or embroidery may have continued on a domestic scale, it would hardly have been possible to evade the iconoclast decrees in the large, metropolitan workshops that manufactured high-style silk fabrics. The ban was without effect, of course, in territories beyond imperial control, such as Egypt, as well as on Byzantine textiles already exported to the West, such as, perhaps, the famous Annunciation and Nativity silks in the Vatican.¹¹⁵ Any resurgence of textiles with Christian images in post-iconoclastic Byzantium must represent a reinvention more or less



Fig. 1.9. Council of Chalcedon, fresco, 15th century. Church of SS Peter and Paul, Turnovo. From A. Grabar, *Peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, pl. XLVII.

The lack of evidence, textual or otherwise, for embroidered vestments in the ninth through eleventh centuries suggests that there was no such revival following the defeat of iconoclasm. While the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), proclaiming the orthodoxy of icon veneration, urged the making of icons ‘on sacred vessels and vestments’ (Ev iepoIc Kai there is no surviving evidence that the exhortation was taken up with regard to sacerdotal It is, of course, possible that the surviving pieces represent the continuation of a tradition of which all earlier traces have perished. Nevertheless, the congruence of visual and textual evidence with the embroideries that survive suggests that the production of such materials began in the second half of the twelfth century and accelerated in the period of political fragmentation after 1204 and during the Palaiologan revival. While the nature of the question hardly admits of a definitive answer, the preponderance of evidence favours the emergence of figural embroidery on liturgical costume as a distinctly late cultural phenomenon in Byzantium.

The art of figural embroidery on various sacred cloths and veils seems to have flourished in the twelfth century, if we are to judge from the corpus of surviving epigrams referring to gifts of such textiles. In certain cases, the poems were clearly meant to be embroidered on the cloth as part of its decoration, as with an epigram by Nicholas Kallikles (early twelfth century) made to be embroidered on a peplos to adorn an icon of the Virgin. The epigram describes the textile as 'an image of the image, implying an embroidered image of the Virgin on the veil matching the painted image in the icon. Another testimony to embroidered images on veils for icons comes already in the year 1075, in Michael Psellos' famous account of the 'habitual miracle' at Blachernai, during which the veil (katapetasma) hanging in front of the icon of the Virgin would lift spontaneously each Friday at Vespers. Psellos makes clear that the veil itself bore a decoration of holy images.¹¹⁸ A similar veil may be described in the inventory of 1143 of the Monastery of Xylourgou on Mt. Athos, which describes an embroidered encheirion with images, perhaps intended for an icon.¹¹⁹ Niketas Choniates' History furnishes extraordinary evidence of the use of embroidered veils in public processions. In describing the triumphal entry of John II Komnenos into Constantinople in 1122, Choniates described the decoration of the streets of the city:

When the day designated for the procession had arrived, all manner of gold-embroidered purple cloths decorated the streets. Nor were there missing the framed images of Christ and the saints, fashioned by the weaver's hand, and which one would have said were not woven figures but living beings.¹²⁰

These and other accounts make clear that embroidered veils of various sorts with holy images functioned both in ecclesiastical and imperial settings from at least the last quarter of the eleventh century.

By the last quarter of the twelfth century, we have actual surviving embroideries of this sort. Among the earliest is a silk hanging in the treasury of San Marco in Venice, unfortunately mutilated by incompetent restoration in the modern period. The cloth depicts the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and its embroidered dedicatory inscription places its donor, the Despot and Sebastokrator Constantine Komnenos Angelos, at the feet of the archangels, beseeching *their* protection from all assaults of demons.¹²¹ As the inscription alludes to the reign of the donor's brother Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195), it is reasonable to infer that the embroidery dates to this period. This would make it contemporaneous with the pair of veils for the communion vessels, the little aeres in the cathedral treasury of

Halberstadt, dedications of the Sebastos Alexios Palaiologos that soon after fell into Crusader hands.¹²² Finally, an early thirteenth-century pooda, or cloths made to hang under a panel icon, has in recent years emerged in Sofia after disappearing in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. A dedication to the church of St Sophia at Ochrid, it is embroidered in a linear manner similar to the Halberstadt acres, with lines of couched gold delineating the contours and edges of drapery. It depicts the Virgin Blachernitissa, with the clipeate image of the Christ Child on her breast in a contrasting technique-couched gold ground with lines of drapery in reserve. The faces, executed in silk thread, are all but lost. The enframing verse inscription, addressed to the Word of God, names Theodore Komnenos Doukas (Despot of Epiros c. 1215-1230) and his wife Maria Dukaina. The donation may have been occasioned by the Epirote capture of Ochrid in 1216.¹²³ While these surviving textiles do not far predate the earliest of the sacerdotal vestments with figural embroidery, they give concrete form to a full century's worth of textual descriptions of embroideries now lost.

The earliest textual records of figural embroideries on the vestments of the clergy date from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. A variety of embroidered vestments are noted among the losses from the burning of the church of the Dormition at Vladimir in 1183.¹²⁴ It is not specified, however, whether these bore figural representations. More specific information is given in the inventory of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos, dated to the year 1200.¹²⁵ The inventory contains a full section detailing the veils for the sacred vessels, icons, and reliquaries along with liturgical vestments per se. The list of clerical insignia includes five embroidered epitrachelia, three pairs of embroidered epimanikia, three embroidered epigonatia, two of which bear images, and an omophorion described as old.¹²⁶ The epigonatia in the Patmos inventory represent the earliest specific record of figural embroidery on liturgical vestments to come to light, although their subject matter is, alas, not specified. Nevertheless, most of the vestments listed with them are described as embroidered. Whether these embroideries were figural or not, the application of the technique to all but the 'old' omophorion demonstrates its currency at the end of the twelfth century. The mid-thirteenth-century typikon of the Monastery of the Theotokos of Boreine¹²⁷ in Lydia also testifies to embroidered liturgical vestments. The inventory, dated 1247, lists three epitrachelia, of which one is couched in gold (XpvaOKAa/3apLK6V). There are three pairs of epimanikia, one of which is gold-embroidered with the Annunciation and Anastasis.¹²⁸ This text corroborates the evidence of the Patmos inventory as well as supplying information, however laconic, about the subject matter of

the pieces.

Some of our evidence for embroidery on vestments comes from its condemnation by strict adherents of canon law. Church councils repeatedly legislated that vestments be plain, woollen, and not be worn outside the liturgy. Canon 27 of the Council in Trullo (692) merely forbade a priest from wearing 'inappropriate' dress,¹²⁹ a prohibition that was interpreted by twelfth century canonists to include luxuries such as costly fabrics, multiple colours, or the use of the valuable murex purple dye.¹³⁰ Canon 16 of the Second Council of Nicaea imposed penances for specific examples of luxury in clerical dress, including the use of silk fabrics, coloured trim, and woven designs.¹³¹ When Metropolitan John II of Kiev compiled a corpus of canon law for Rus' in the eleventh century, he included similar warnings against the use of silken vestments.¹³²

The very material of the present study makes it clear that such rules were not universally obeyed in Byzantium. When Patriarch Michael I Keroularios railed against Western bishops' dress,¹³³ his correspondent Peter of Antioch calmly reminded him of analogous Byzantine irregularities, including the use of silken vestments.¹³⁴ The early twelfth-century canonist John Zonaras, commenting on Canon 16 of Nicaea II, condemns vestments made of patterned silks or bearing appliqued decoration, claiming that in former times priests did not wear such garments.¹³⁵ Theodore Balsamon's comments on this same canon are especially revealing:

While the clergy who dress splendidly in garments called samite (having not only borders of contrasting colour but also sprinklings of gold, and letters of precious gold besides) are condemned by the canon, some have said that it was promulgated on account of the disorder then prevailing in the churches and the great irreverence of the clergy [during Iconoclasm], but that nowadays the canon does not apply, when, by the grace of God, all is good order and piety in the Church, and the clergy minister in splendid garments for the glory of God ... This canon is universal, and its contents are bound to hold sway and be in force to ages of ages. Those conducting themselves contrary to the canon are rightly to be penalized if they will not be corrected.¹³⁶

Balsamon condemns the violation of legislation he holds to be universally binding, but his commentary implies that less rigorous ecclesiastics saw richly decorated liturgical vestments in a more positive light, as a way better to glorify God. It is also informative

that, despite the rich detail of Balsamon's description of incorrect vestments, he nowhere mentions images as part of their decoration. His silence on this point favours the argument that figural embroideries remained relatively rare adornments to Byzantine liturgical vestments as late as the 1170s and 1180s.¹³⁷

Evidence for embroidered vestments in monumental painting first appears about a century after the first textual references to the phenomenon. Perhaps the earliest representations of vestments adorned with images occur in the frescoes of the Virgin Peribleptos (St Clement) at Ochrid, executed in 1295.¹³⁸ There, the epigonation of St Clement of Ochrid features the bust of a saint,¹³⁹ and the crosses on the omophoria of several of the bishops centre similar images (see fig. 1.10 [Plate 3]).¹⁴⁰ We have already mentioned the depiction of St Sava wearing a sakkos with busts of holy figures—perhaps apostles—in the church of the Virgin of Ljeviska, Prizren, from the early fourteenth century.¹⁴¹ Even into the post-Byzantine period, however, painted representations of historiated vestments remain extremely rare.

The earliest surviving embroidered liturgical vestments date to the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Among these are the pair of epimanikia associated with St Varlaam of Khutyn' (see fig. 1.11). Varlaam, founder and hegumenos of the monastery of Khutyn' near Novgorod in the twelfth century, died c. 1192.¹⁴² The two epimanikia, preserved in Varlaam's monastery until 1926, are identical in their decoration, featuring a deesis with Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist at full length under round arches. The figures are executed in silver-gilt threads, the definition of the drapery being provided by the interruptions where the couched gold is turned to the back of the fabric. The figures' faces, which were embroidered in silk, are almost entirely lost, and they have been outlined in a later banding of seed pearls. The inscriptions are in Greek but show traces of Slavonic orthography.¹⁴³ Although the epimanikia are comparable in size and shape to those surviving from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, their decoration with the deesis is unique.¹⁴⁴ The framing of the figures under a continuous arcade is also highly unusual. These differences from the surviving corpus of Palaiologan vestments, weighed along with the evidence of technique and provenance, support the placement of the epimanikia in the late twelfth century.

Another vestment plausibly dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century is the Byzantine epitrachelion now reused as a pillar orphrey on the 'Chasuble of St Willibald' at Eichstatt (see fig. 1.12). In this case, the attribution of the vestment to the lifetime of

the eponymous Anglo-Saxon missionary of the eighth century, is clearly The stole is attached to a chasuble of plain yellow silk that has been cut down to a Gothic shape. The chasuble in its present form may date from the translation of St Willibald's relics in 1256.¹⁴⁶ The Byzantine embroidery shows Christ and Mary, SS Peter and Paul, and eight other apostles under round arches. The silver-gilt threads of the couchwork are wound around a yellow silk core and the faces and hands are executed in coloured silk. The major contours of the figures of Christ and the Virgin, the lines of their draperies, as well as the architectural frames and ornament, were once outlined with seed pearls, of which only a remnant survive.



Fig. 1.10. St Clement wearing an epigonation with embroidered bust. Church of St Clement, Ochrid. Photo © Ivan Zarov.



Fig. 1.11. Epimanikion of St Varlaam of Khutyn'. Novgorod State Museum. From Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery*, 23.

The survival of embroidered vestments from a period close in date to the first textual references to the phenomenon considerably strengthens the case that such garments were an innovation of the last decades prior to the disaster of 1204. This is a critical point for the question of continuity or rupture, for it would indicate that the embroideries represent neither an isolated phenomenon of the Palaiologan period nor a simple, unmotivated carryover from the pre-iconoclastic past. If it is the case that such vestments did not exist prior to this historical moment, then we are more than justified in seeking out the contemporaneous trends within art, society, and the Church that may have inspired the creation of this new art form. The fact that the then innovative decoration of liturgical vestments continued after the massive disruption of the Fourth Crusade and Latin occupation of Constantinople suggests, that we look to changes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries for the initiation of trends that continue into the twilight of the empire.



Fig. 1.12. Byzantine epitrachelion on the chasuble of St Willibald. Eichstatt, Diocesan Museum. Photo: Foto Marburg / Art Resource, NY.

CONCLUSION: CHANGES, XI-XIV C.

A little over a century ago, a scholar of liturgical dress could justify a cursory treatment of Byzantine vestments by invoking the supposed immutability of the Byzantine church:

The action of evolution, which makes the history of the Western vestments so complex, is hardly felt in the East. The mediaevalism, or, rather, primaevalism, which shuts out instrumental aid from the musical portions of the Eastern service acts upon vestments in minimizing the profusion of ornamentation which plays such an important part in the externals of Western ritual.¹⁴⁷

Although remnants of this view still surround the Byzantine rite in the popular imagination, its falsity should be immediately apparent.¹⁴⁸

The 'externals' of Byzantine ritual were in a more-or-less constant state of flux. These responded to impulses from both within the Church and without: pressures from theological discord, the competition or cooperation with the imperial power, and the internal logic of the mystagogy by which the Church understood and explained its rites.

The examination of how these various impulses acted on liturgical vesture in Byzantium will form the matter of the latter chapters of this book. We have already seen major changes in the repertory of liturgical vestments in use from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. The most numerous and significant of these changes took place at the level of the episcopate and higher prelates. Whereas the priest and deacon over the course of the period added only the epimanikia to their costume, higher prelates engaged in what could be described as an inflationary accumulation of insignia to differentiate them from simple bishops. The first of these is the polystaurion phelonion, introduced apparently as a patriarchal vestment in the eleventh century, and rapidly trickling down the ecclesiastical ranks. As the wearing of the polystaurion became increasingly widespread among Byzantine bishops, it began to be supplemented or supplanted by the sakkos, which in turn eventually spread beyond its initial wearers, the patriarchs. The mitre, whatever its exact date of introduction, appears to participate in the same inflationary economy of insignia. All the available evidence, however scanty, indicates that it, too, began as a patriarchal privilege and, like the sakkos, in the post-Byzantine period eventually became part of the standard episcopal regalia.

This multiplication and development of the forms of liturgical dress indicates a shift in the understanding of the nature of hierarchy within the Church that must be taken into account in reading the phenomenon of figural embroidery. The vestments and their iconic decoration developed in the context of the tension between the sacramental and hierarchical roles of the higher clergy. This study will turn first to the clergy in their role as celebrants in the liturgical realm

and the connection between vestments and the liturgy and theology of the Church, then explore how the vestments position the ecclesiastical hierarchy within Late Byzantine society as a whole. Finally, we shall see the way liturgical vestments and their imagery help to bridge these two roles through the realm of art.

Moving Pictures: Embroidered Vestments and the Iconography of the Church Interior

The way surviving Byzantine liturgical vestments are seen today—isolated within glass cases in museums and sacristies—could hardly contrast more with the environment in which Byzantine viewers would have encountered them. Such vestments were meant to be seen against the background of the church interior and its myriad painted images. In the Late Byzantine period, this environment would have included not only the programme of monumental decoration in fresco or mosaic, but also the moveable icons displayed in the church and, most prominently, the icons affixed to the sanctuary barrier. The juxtaposition of embroidered images with images in painting created a dynamic relationship between the two that shifted as the clergy moved through the church in accordance with the rubrics of the liturgy. This chapter will treat the relationship between the iconography of the vestments and the decoration of the church interior, mediated through liturgical action.

While the twelfth through fifteenth centuries were a period of fruitful innovation and expansion in the repertoire of Byzantine iconography, the range of subject matter depicted on surviving Byzantine liturgical vestments is remarkably conservative. A handful of themes predominate: the Feast Cycle, or dodekaorton; the deesis, that is, the image of Christ flanked by a grouping of saints and angels usually led by the Virgin and St John the Baptist; and Eucharistic subjects such as the Communion of the Apostles. Although other images appear from time to time, the vast majority of embroidered [decoration on vestments can be classified under these three subjects](#). This fact is all the more surprising given the flourishing of secondary narrative cycles in Palaiologan fresco painting. Cycles of saints' lives, illustrations of hymns such as the Akathistos, expanded tropes on the life of Christ in the form of Nativity, Miracle, or Passion cycle—these staples of Late Byzantine monumental painting are all but absent from [the decoration of vestments from the same period](#). The images on the vestments, however, reflect the iconographic core of the monumental

decoration of the church. This is true in two senses: not only do the images on the vestments repeat the most essential images from the decoration of a typical Byzantine church, they reflect the imagery of the heart of the building itself-the images usually found in the nave and sanctuary and on the screen separating the two. In these spaces, the duplication of images in the two media of costume and painting can hardly have escaped the attention of attending worshippers, fellow clergy, or the wearers themselves.

THE FEAST CYCLE

Otto Demus's pioneering study *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* established the standard analysis of the decoration of medieval Byzantine churches in terms of a three-fold programme of images. The most exalted spaces in the church, namely, the central dome and the conch of the apse, formed a 'heavenly zone' dominated respectively by the images of Christ Pantokrator and the Virgin. The Feast Cycle, composed of a stereotyped selection of key episodes from the life of Christ, was depicted on the upper walls and vaults, while the general assembly of saints appeared on the walls and lower vaults. The iconographic additions and enrichments to the painted programme over successive centuries never wholly displaced the principle images of the Pantokrator, Virgin, Feasts of Christ, and portraits of the saints. In the increasingly complex spaces of Late Byzantine church architecture, these themes continued to decorate the spatial core of churches even as newer and more topical subjects abounded in the subsidiary parts of the building.³

The dodekaorton, literally 'twelve feasts'; is known as such from Byzantine sources, even though the twelve events are not all feasts in the strict sense of the word, nor are there always-or even usually-twelve of them. In its ideal form the Feast Cycle consists of twelve episodes from salvation history: the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation, Baptism, and Transfiguration of Christ, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Dormition of the Virgin.⁴ This particular selection of feasts attained quasi-canonical status no later than the twelfth century.⁵ Typically, these are arranged in an historical sequence running clockwise around the upper walls of the church, beginning with the Annunciation near or flanking the sanctuary entrance (see fig. 2.1).⁶ The practical exigencies of architecture mean that cycles composed of exactly these twelve scenes (and no others) are remarkably rare among surviving programmes of fresco or mosaic.⁷ Nevertheless, evidence from other sources makes it clear that

Byzantines conceived of the cycle as a unit and rendered it as such in objects such as icons and statuettes less restricted in their potential layout than the architectural spaces of monumental art.⁸ Although the number of scenes and their selection is subject to countless minor variants from church to church, the images from the life of Christ retain their character as a fixed cycle from their first appearance in the ninth century until well after the fall of Constantinople.⁹





Fig. 2.1. Annunciation and other scenes, fresco, 1192. Panaghia tou Arakos, Lagoudera. Photo © Dumbarton Oaks, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, DC.

The most prominent change to the church interior in the later centuries of Byzantium was undoubtedly the transformation of the hitherto open sanctuary barrier, or templon, into a screen of icons, the iconostasis. The exact timing and trajectory of this development is still a matter of some controversy.¹⁰ In the Early Byzantine period, the sanctuary was cut off from the space of the laity by a H-shaped barrier of marble, often featuring columns supporting an architrave. At that point, in contrast to later practice, the altar would have remained open to the view of the The display of icons on the sanctuary barrier was certainly a widespread practice by the twelfth century,² and evidence from the late eleventh century onward indicates that the twelve feasts enjoyed a special prominence among the images on the screen. The earliest testimony to the connection is found in the governing foundation document (typikon) drawn up by the nobleman Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of Backovo in Bulgaria, dating to 1083. The typikon prescribes the lighting of lamps before each of twelve feast scenes depicted on the templon of the monastery church.¹³ The Pala d'Oro in San Marco in Venice bears a set of six large enamels of twelfth-century date showing scenes from the life of Christ. It is widely accepted that these Byzantine panels, added to the

Pala d'Oro in 1209, originally formed part of a set of twelve enamels of the Feast Cycle adorning a tempon within the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople. 14 Although these enamel icons were the product of imperial patronage, their iconography was shared by screens in much humbler media. A number of painted wooden epistyles-beams running the length of the barrier along its top from the monastery at Mt Sinai depict scenes from the Feast Cycle with the deesis in their midst (see fig. 2.2).¹⁵ These pieces of evidence from widely scattered provinces and varying levels of patronage testify to the prevalence of the Feast Cycle on the iconostasis.

The themes of the Feast Cycle that dominate the iconographic programme of the nave and of the sanctuary barrier enjoy a similar prominence in the decoration of liturgical vestments. Among the finest examples of the Twelve-Feast Cycle in liturgical embroidery is the stole inscribed with the name of Peter, Skeuophylax of the Great Church, currently preserved in the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos (see fig. 2.3).¹⁶ The twelve feasts are arranged under low ogee arches, and in their spandrels are prophets bearing scrolls inscribed with typologically appropriate texts.¹⁷ The deesis occupies the neck of the stole, while the canonical twelve feasts appear on the front.¹⁸ The individual scenes on the epitachelion, despite the small scale of each, are executed with a wealth of circumstantial detail. The fishes in the Jordan River, for instance, are visible in the Baptism of Christ, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds takes place in the background of the Nativity. The minutely detailed rendering of the scenes and the decorative grotesquerie of the ornament link the stole to monumental painting of the later fourteenth century, such as at the church of the Peribleptos in Mistra.¹⁹ Although the owner of the stole named in its inscription is otherwise unattested, his title names him as an official, the skeuophylax, or sacristan, of Hagia Sophia.²⁰ An inventory survives that was taken of the patriarchal treasury of Hagia Sophia in 1396; among the holdings of vestments it mentions a goldembroidered epitachelion decorated with the feasts of Christ.²¹ Unfortunately, the inventory gives no further information as to the number and selection of the feasts, nor any indication of the age of the stole. The inscription on the stole at the Great Lavra, associating it with the patriarchal court, nonetheless raises the possibility that it may be the very stole referred to in the late fourteenth-century inventory.



Fig. 2.2. Deesis and Feast Cycle, templon beam, c. 1200. Monastery of St Catherine, Mt. Sinai. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mt. Sinai.



Fig. 2.3. Epitachelion of Peter the Skeuophylax, 14th century. The Great Lavra, Mt. Athos. Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE, Paris.

The rendering of the Feast Cycle on the epitachelion from the Great Lavra is exceptional in the way it approaches the level of detail achieved in monumental painting. More usually, the restricted space of a stole led the embroiderers to strip down the iconography to the most essential elements of each scene. A fifteenth-century epitachelion in the monastery of Vatopaidi on Mt Athos is one of a number of surviving stoles that are decorated with a series of roundels containing scenes from the Feast Cycle (see fig. 2.4 [Plate 4]).²² The Vatopaidi stole shows sixteen scenes, including the canonical twelve with the addition of images of Christ carrying the cross and three post-Resurrection. The detail is minimal; in the scene of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, for instance, the crowd of onlookers is reduced to three figures. Embroideries akin to this one must have been rather more widely produced than the painstakingly detailed scenes that decorate the Lavra stole.

Although much rarer than epitachelia, no doubt because they were worn exclusively by bishops, examples of preserved omophoria also bear embroidered images from the Feast Cycle. One of the earliest of surviving omophoria is one now housed in the Moscow Kremlin and dating perhaps to the late fourteenth or, more likely, the early fifteenth century (see fig. 2.5). It arrived in Russia from Nicaea in 1655, a provenance which led to its early misattribution to the period of the Ecumenical Councils.² Each of the four Greek crosses on the stole is inscribed with a central quatrefoil in which a single feast scene—Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, or Anastasis—is depicted. The roundel, or polos, in the centre of the omophorion depicts the Ascension of Christ. While this omophorion presents the scenes from the Feast Cycle alone, several later examples group them with figures of saints or prophets.²⁶



Fig. 2.4. Epitrachelion with feast scenes, 15th century. Vatopaidi Monastery, Mt. Athos. From *Hiera Megiste Mone Vatopaidiou*, fig. 369.

Feast scenes, albeit on a much larger scale, also appear on the two sakkoi of Metropolitan Photios in Moscow. The decoration of the Minor Sakkos, dating to the mid-fourteenth century, is organized around four large images from the Feast Cycle: the Crucifixion, Anastasis, Transfiguration, and Ascension (see figs. 2.6 [Plate 6], 2.7). Each of these scenes is depicted in a roundel enclosed within a Greek cross. The corners of the crosses, in turn, are bracketed by right-angled forms enclosing prophets.²⁸ The scrolls they hold bear abbreviated prophecies that comment on the action of the central scene.²⁹ Hence Isaiah, placed at the upper right of the Crucifixion, holds a scroll announcing 'He was led like a sheep to the slaughter.'³⁰ Ezekiel, juxtaposed with the image of the Anastasis, proclaims, 'Behold, I will bring upon you the spirit'. The images on the back of the sakkos, the Transfiguration and Ascension, bear Slavonic inscriptions rather than Greek. The style and condition of the embroidery indicate that these were redone as part of a major sixteenth-century restoration of the garment. Nonetheless, they likely maintain the original Byzantine iconography. The original imagery on the sleeves of the sakkos—which now depict the Entry into Jerusalem, Pentecost, the Raising of Lazarus, and the First Council of Nicaea—is less certain. The sleeves are embroidered on an Italian silk damask ground, indicating that they were completely replaced in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

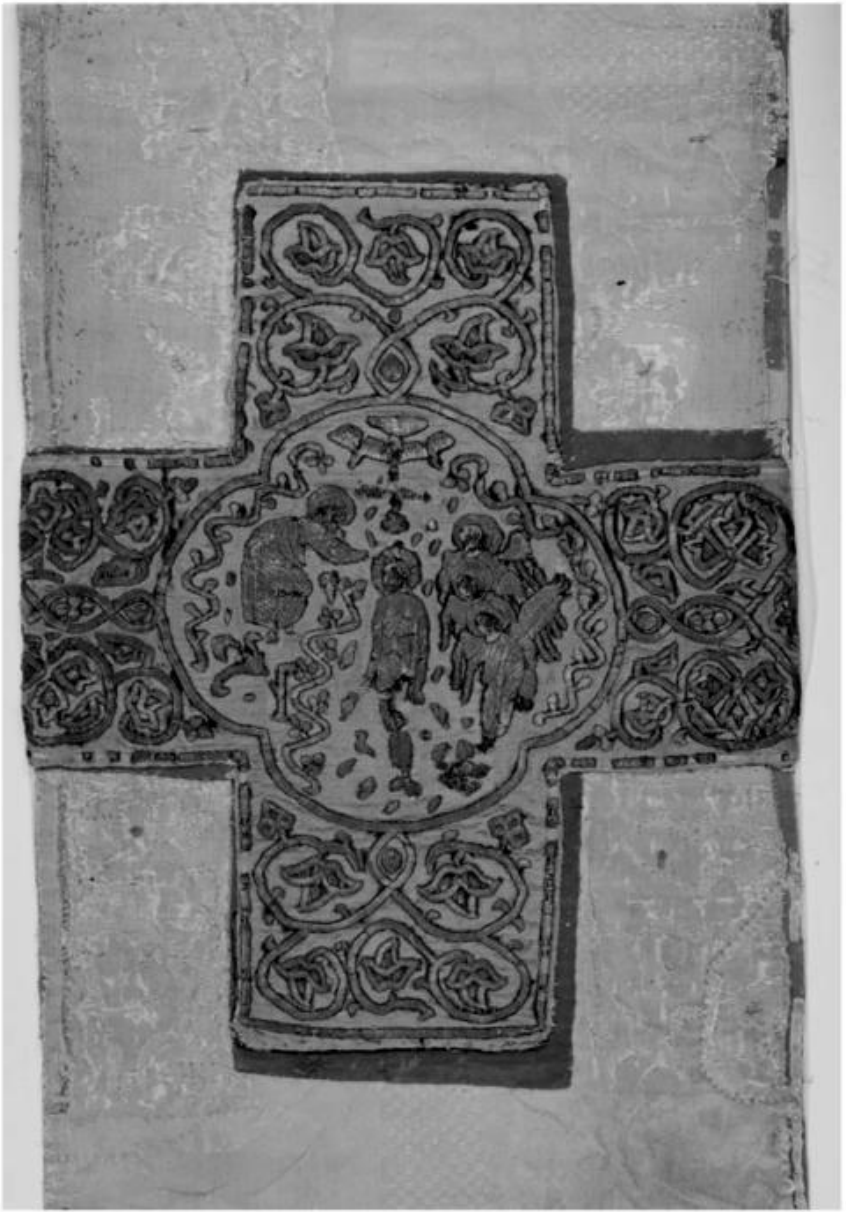


Fig. 2.5. Baptism of Christ, (detail of an embroidered omophorion), late 14th or early 15th century. Kremlin Armoury, Moscow. Photo by V. N. Seregin (2006), © State Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve, 'The Moscow Kremlin'.



Fig. 2.6. Minor Sakkos of Photios, 14th century with later additions. Kremlin Armoury, Moscow. Photo by V. V. Blagov (2009), CO State Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve, 'The Moscow Kremlin'.



Fig. 2.7. Minor Sakkos of Photios, (back view). The Moscow Kremlin. Photo by V. V. Blagov (2009) © State Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve, 'The Moscow Kremlin'.

The Major Sakkos of Photios bears the entire twelve-episode cycle of the dodekaorton in its embroidered decoration (see fig. 2.8). The portraits of the future Byzantine emperor John VIII, his Russian wife Anna, her parents the Grand Prince and Princess Basil and Sophia, and Metropolitan Photios himself, all depicted on the front hem of the vestment, allow the creation of the vestment to be placed in Constantinople some time between 1414 and 1417, the dates of [Anna's marriage to John and of her untimely death](#).³² As with the Minor Sakkos, the Crucifixion and Anastasis appear in the two crosses on the front of the vestment. The angles surrounding the Crucifixion contain the Annunciation and Entry into Jerusalem, each scene divided into two sections. The prophets Solomon, David, Hosea and Zephaniah appear in roundels at the corners of the cross, while the standing figures of Isaiah and Jeremiah flank its arms. The Anastasis is in turn surrounded by images of the Last Supper, Christ washing the feet of

his disciples, and SS Constantine and Helena with the True Cross. The prophets Job and Habakkuk appear in roundels in the corners above the scene.



Fig. 2.8. Major Sakkos of Photios, (front view), c. 1414-1417. The Moscow Kremlin. Photo by V. N. Seregin © State Historical and Cultural Museum Preserve, 'The Moscow Kremlin'.

The reverse side of the Major Sakkos is laid out in the same manner (see fig. 2.9 [Plate 9]). The Christological cycle continues with the Ascension of Christ and the Dormition of the Virgin occupying the two large crosses. The cross with the Ascension is surrounded by representations of the Hospitality of Abraham (the Holy Trinity), the

Nativity and Presentation of Christ, and the Flight into Egypt. The prophets Malachi and Micah flank the ends of the cross, and the busts of Daniel and Gideon appear under its arms. Below are the Agony in the Garden and the Betrayal. The Transfiguration sits in the very centre of the back, linking the two crosses and dividing the scene of the Baptism of Christ from the Raising of Lazarus on either side. Around the Dormition of the Virgin, the usual prophets are replaced by hymnographers: busts of SS Theophanes and Joseph in medallions and standing figures of SS Kosmas and John of Damascus. The scene of Pentecost occupies the lowest register, with six apostles in each angle surrounding the central figure of Kosmos, the personification of the world. Although the scrolls of the prophets on the Major Sakkos are (and most probably always were) blank, their depiction in the embroidery nonetheless implies their prophetic testimony to the events depicted.

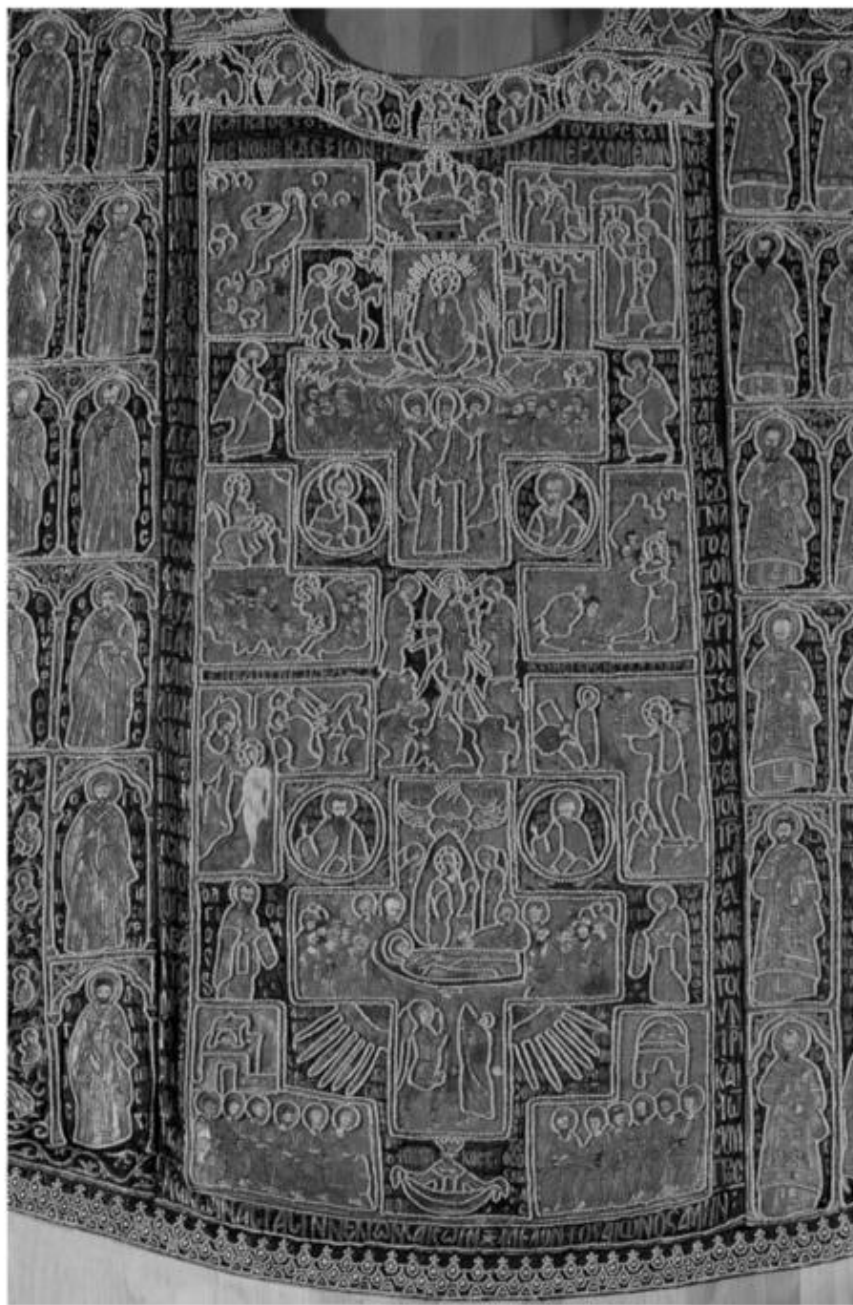


Fig. 2.9. Major Sakkos of Photios, (back view). The Moscow Kremlin.
 Photo by V. V. Blagov (2006) © State Historical and Cultural Museum-
 Preserve, 'The Moscow Kremlin'.

The Major Sakkos integrates the subsidiary images such as the Flight

into Egypt, Last Supper, and Christ's Agony in the Garden and Betrayal with the canonical twelve scenes from the Feast Cycle. Whereas in much Palaiologan wall painting, such scenes are elaborated independently into full-fledged cycles of the Nativity or the Passion, here they are integrated into a unified cycle. What is curious, however, is the disruption of the normal narrative order of the feasts. As with the decoration of a church, the cycle begins with the Annunciation placed front and centre, in this case spanning the front of the sakkos between the shoulders of the wearer. The episodes that normally follow it in sequence, however, are displaced to the back of the garment, where the narrative continues with the Nativity, Flight into Egypt, Presentation, Baptism, and Raising of Lazarus. The cycle then returns to the front of the vestment for the scenes of the Passion and Resurrection (with the exception of the two episodes in the Garden of Gethsemane). The back, again, completes the cycle with the Dormition of the Virgin and the Pentecost. This arrangement gives to the back of the sakkos the visually satisfying juxtaposition between the Ascension of Christ and the Dormition of the Virgin. The scenes show Christ within a radiant mandorla both as he ascends from earth to heaven and as he returns to earth to receive the soul of his mother into Heaven.³³ Moreover, this arrangement allows the images of greatest theological importance—the Crucifixion and the Anastasis—to dominate the front of the vestment. In the next chapter we will return to the significance of this sequence of images in the context of the Byzantine liturgy.

THE GREAT DEESIS

Along with the Feast Cycle, the composition known as the Great Deesis is encountered on a great number of Byzantine liturgical vestments. The term *deesis*, literally meaning 'intercession'; is conventionally used by art historians to signify the composition depicting Christ between the Virgin and John the Baptist. In practice, however, the number and identity of the figures is subject to considerable variation. The *deesis* with two, three, or more figures is found frequently in various media. Not only can the subsidiary intercessors vary, but the Virgin might even at times appear as the central figure in place of Christ. Clearly, the theme is a flexible one, and this very mutability of the iconography has led to much disagreement over its meaning.³⁴ Certainly, its exact nuance varies by context. We know, for example, from texts as well as surviving monuments that the *deesis* was a favoured theme for burial places in all areas of the Byzantine Empire.³⁵ The Life of Lazarus of Mt Galesion, a holy man who lived in Western Asia Minor in the eleventh

century, records that he lay himself down on his deathbed before an image of the deesis,³⁶ which implies the presentation of the soul of the deceased to Christ by the depicted intercessors. In addition to the idea that the deesis represents the figures interceding for the patron or viewer,³⁷ it may also represent their attestation to Christ's incarnate divinity.³⁸ One more suggestion may be offered, that the company of saints surrounding Christ represents a vision of the divine order of heaven.³⁹ Anthony Cutler justly points out that the variant readings are by no means mutually exclusive, and that, in any case, the meaning ascribed to the composition must be governed by its function and context.⁴⁰

Non-funerary examples of the theme in monumental painting tend more towards a dogmatic function, namely attestation or praise of Christ's majesty.⁴¹ This is true as well for those compositions with multiple saints joining the Virgin and John the Baptist. The earliest such expanded deesis to survive is found in a room, identified as the small patriarchal secreton, over the vestibule in Hagia Sophia.⁴² Its execution shortly after the victory over iconoclasm, probably towards 870, evinces a desire to affirm the real, visible form of Christ's incarnate divinity. The prominent inclusion of bishops-in particular vocal opponents of iconoclasm-in the deesis composition significantly inflects the mosaic's message. The iconodule clergy join the other saints as witnesses to the representable reality of the union of Christ's divine and human natures in the Incarnation.

In the Late Byzantine period, examples of the deesis in monumental painting continue to be employed in various contexts. The most famous example, the arresting but enigmatic deesis mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, is too isolated from its original artistic and functional setting to be given a secure interpretation. If, as Thomas Whittemore proposed, the deesis panel faced the space in the galleries of the church where the Patriarchal Synod met in council, then the mosaic could be read as a heavenly analogue to the Patriarch and his assembled clergy.⁴³ At the thirteenth-century church of the Holy Apostles at Pee, the seat of the Serbian Patriarchs, the deesis appears as the principle image of the apse (see fig. 2.10.).⁴⁴ There it surmounts a procession of holy bishops and is in turn surrounded on both sides by the Communion of the Apostles in bread and wine. The presence of cherubim and the inscription, 'I am the Light of the World, in the book held by Christ link the iconography to the 'deesis-visions' common in the posticonoclastic apse painting of Cappadocia.⁴⁵ Its position above the altar, moreover, points to a Eucharistic reading of the theme: that Christ, who is enthroned upon

the cherubim in heaven, is present as well in the Sacrament.



Fig. 2.10. Deesis, apse fresco, 13th century. Church of the Holy Apostles, Pee, Photo: Svetlana Tomekovie.

Like the twelve feasts, the Great Deesis was a popular subject for the icons on Late Byzantine templa.⁴⁶ The monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai preserves an epistyle attributed to a Crusader workshop of the thirteenth century, depicting the deesis expanded with the figures of apostles and martyrs.⁴⁷ The Great Deesis must also have appeared on the panel icons between the columns of the templon at Sinai and elsewhere in the Orthodox Christian world. Weitzmann and others have identified groups of panel icons from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that were components of Great Deesis compositions. Judging from their dimensions, the icons would have been positioned to fill the openings of sanctuary screens.⁴⁸ A virtually intact example of such a set of icons is found on the iconostasis of the Annunciation Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin. The screen now consists of three tiers: a late fourteenth-century Great Deesis, attributed to the painter Theophanes the Greek, a Feast Cycle by an early fifteenth-century Russian master, and a later, sixteenth-century register of prophets and patriarchs (see fig. 2.1 1).⁴⁹ The evidence from these historical examples confirms the impression that the Great Deesis and Feast Cycle together dominated the iconographic programmes of Byzantine sanctuary barriers from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries.

The placement of the deesis on the templon logically relates to the actions that take place within the sanctuary. Modern scholars have typically seen the employment of the theme there to be a reflection of or guide to the intercessory prayers of the liturgy.⁵⁰ The image need not, however, correspond to a single part or parts of the celebration. Symeon of Thessalonike writes that the deesis is placed on the templon to explicate the inherent symbolism of the barrier:

The templon points out the distinction between those things that are sensible as opposed to those things that are intelligible, and is like a firmament separating the intellectual from the material; and because the pillars in front of the altar of Christ are of his Church, they both proclaim him and support us. Wherefore the architrave upon the templon holds it together, showing the bond of love and the unity in Christ of the saints of earth with those above. For these reasons also, above the middle of the architrave in the row of icons is the Saviour, and on either side his Mother and the Baptist, angels and apostles, and the rest of the saints, while they explicate such things as these: that Christ is thus with his saints in heaven and is also with us now and will come again.⁵¹



Fig. 2.11. Iconostasis. Annunciation Cathedral, 14th-16th centuries, Moscow Kremlin.

According to Symeon, the physical structure of the templon, composed of columns surmounted by an architrave, is symbolic of the bonds of

Christ and the Church. The columns represent the pillars of the Church; the architrave both links the columns and the icons above it and thus symbolizes the bond of Christian love. The icons of the deesis are disposed in a line atop the architrave. Rather than primarily evoking the intercession of the saints on behalf of the faithful, the deesis is for Symeon an anagogical symbol of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist at the same time that he is among his saints in heaven.

We have already seen that a pair of epimanikia with twin depictions of the deesis are among the oldest preserved embroidered vestments from the Byzantine sphere. The Epimanikia of Varlaam of Khutyn (fig. 1.11, ch.1) show the deesis in its most basic form: Christ in the centre, posed frontally and blessing, is flanked by the figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist, who incline towards Christ and make a gesture of paraklesis, or intercession.⁵² Expanded versions of the deesis occur frequently on later embroidered vestments, especially epitachelia. An epitachelion from the monastery of St John on Patmos, which dates probably to the second half of the fourteenth century, is representative of a number of surviving Late and postByzantine stoles with this subject matter.⁵³ The Patmos epitachelion shows the figure of Christ wearing a sakkos on the neck of the stole, with the Virgin and John the Baptist shown bust-length in rectangular panels on either side. Below these, the apostles Peter and Paul and the holy bishops Gregory the Theologian, Basil, John Chrysostom, and Nicholas complete the composition, alternating with panels of foliate and animal ornament. The prevalence of sainted bishops among the figures of the deesis is a feature shared with other stoles of this type.⁵⁴ A slight variation in the selection of saints is found on the epitachelion inscribed with the name of the hieromonk Dositheos, now preserved in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (see fig. 2.12).⁵⁵ It features the blessing Christ in antique dress, flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. On the sides appear the Virgin and St John the Baptist, SS John Chrysostom and Basil, SS Gregory of Nazianzos and Athanasios, SS Nicholas and Cyril, and SS Demetrios and George. The figures are framed under architectural arcades, while at the bottom, the letters of the monogram for 'Dositheos, hieromonk' appear amid the vegetal ornament surrounding circular medallions with crosses.⁵⁶

These two stoles, despite the emphasis placed on sainted bishops, correspond well to the number and selection of saints that appear on iconostasis. An altogether different order of magnitude in the number and variety of saints may be found in certain examples from liturgical embroidery. The most complete example is the so-called epitachelion of Metropolitan Photios, preserved in the Kremlin Armoury (see fig.

2.13 [Plate 10]). The bust of Christ appears within a medallion on the neck. He blesses with his right hand and holds a closed codex in his left. To either side are medallions inscribed with the monogram of 'light and life' (not the monogram of Photios, as is commonly The paired standing figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist appear on the front of the stole, facing inward and making a gesture of paraklesis towards Christ, whose image would be hidden behind the neck of the wearer. Below the feet of Mary and John there appear eighty-eight small medallions with diminutive busts of saints. The figures closest to Christ, such as the archangels and the Mother of God, precede three rows of apostles and related saints of the Early Church. Six rows of hierarchs occupy the next rank, followed by three rows of prophets, four of martyrs, and three of monastic saints. The interstices between each two rows of interlaced medallions are filled with pairs of six-winged seraphim.

A strikingly similar epitrachelion exists in the collection of Tismana Monastery in Romania, dated to c. 1370-1389 by association with Metropolitan Anthimos Kritopoulos (see fig. 2.14).⁵⁸ It has, unfortunately, been cut down and reworked, eliminating the medallion portrait of Christ that must once have occupied the centre of the neck.⁵⁹ To either side are medallions with the monograms for ~w, > > and XQLUTOI ~aiver wiuw», meaning 'light and life' and 'the light of Christ enlightens all'. These medallions are interlaced with the series of smaller medallions-eighty in all-containing the busts of the interceding saints. Although the stole lacks the standing figures of the Virgin and St John, the same peculiar order is observed in the first two ranks of medallions as on the Epitrachelion of Photios. In the first row, St Michael the Archangel, the Virgin, the Virgin (again), and the Archangel Gabriel; in the second, St Symeon 'the Recipient of God' (Theodochos), St John the Forerunner, St Peter and St Paul. The correspondence between the two epitrachelia continues in most of the further selection of apostles, bishops, prophets, martyrs, and monastics.⁶⁰ The overall pattern is similarly filled out with seraphim in the interstices between the roundels.



Fig. 2.12. Epitrachelion of Dositheos the Hieromonk, (detail), 14th century. Byzantine Museum, Athens. From Millet, *Broderies*, pl.LIV.

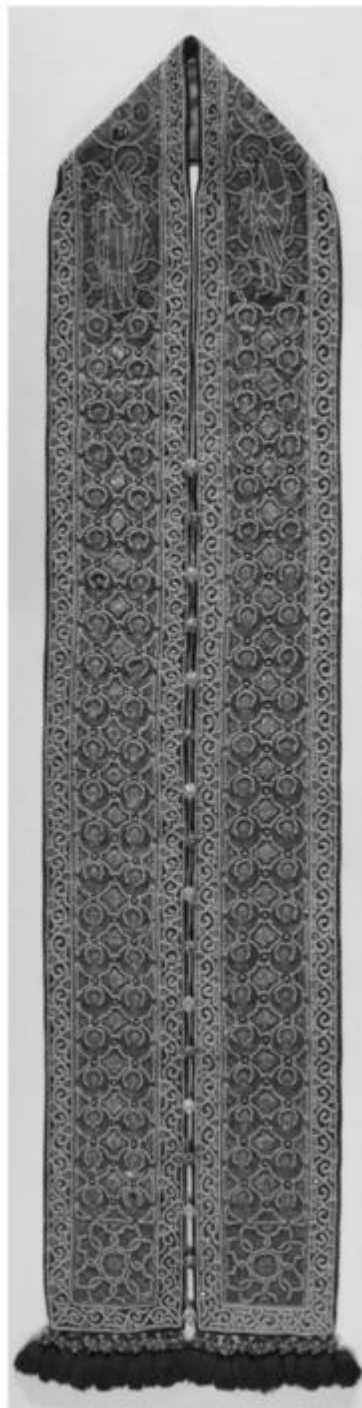


Fig. 2.13. Epitrachelion of Metropolitan Photios, late 14th century. Kremlin Armory, Moscow. Photo by V. V. Blagov (2009) © State Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve, `The Moscow Kremlin.

Although we have observed that 'deesis' literally means intercession or entreaty, this aspect of the subject is mostly absent from the application of the composition to liturgical vestments. The leader of intercessory prayer in the Byzantine rite is the deacon, who leads the congregation in the multiple litanies that form such a prominent part of the Orthodox liturgy. It is striking, then, that no surviving diaconal vestments bear images of the deesis.⁶¹ Whereas certain instances of the deesis in other media have inscribed texts that emphasize their intercessory function on behalf of an individual or group,⁶² those on vestments do not. Indeed, unlike many works of liturgical art from Byzantium, liturgical vestments mostly lack any dedicatory inscriptions.⁶³ Scale alone cannot account for this, for the scrolls held by the prophets on the Minor Sakkos of Photios bear legible inscriptions despite their restricted space. Intercession for the wearer or patron of the vestment, then, was not the primary motivation for the embroidered depiction of the deesis. Rather, the emphasis seems to have lain on Christ's dual presence in the Eucharist on earth and among the saints in glory in heaven.

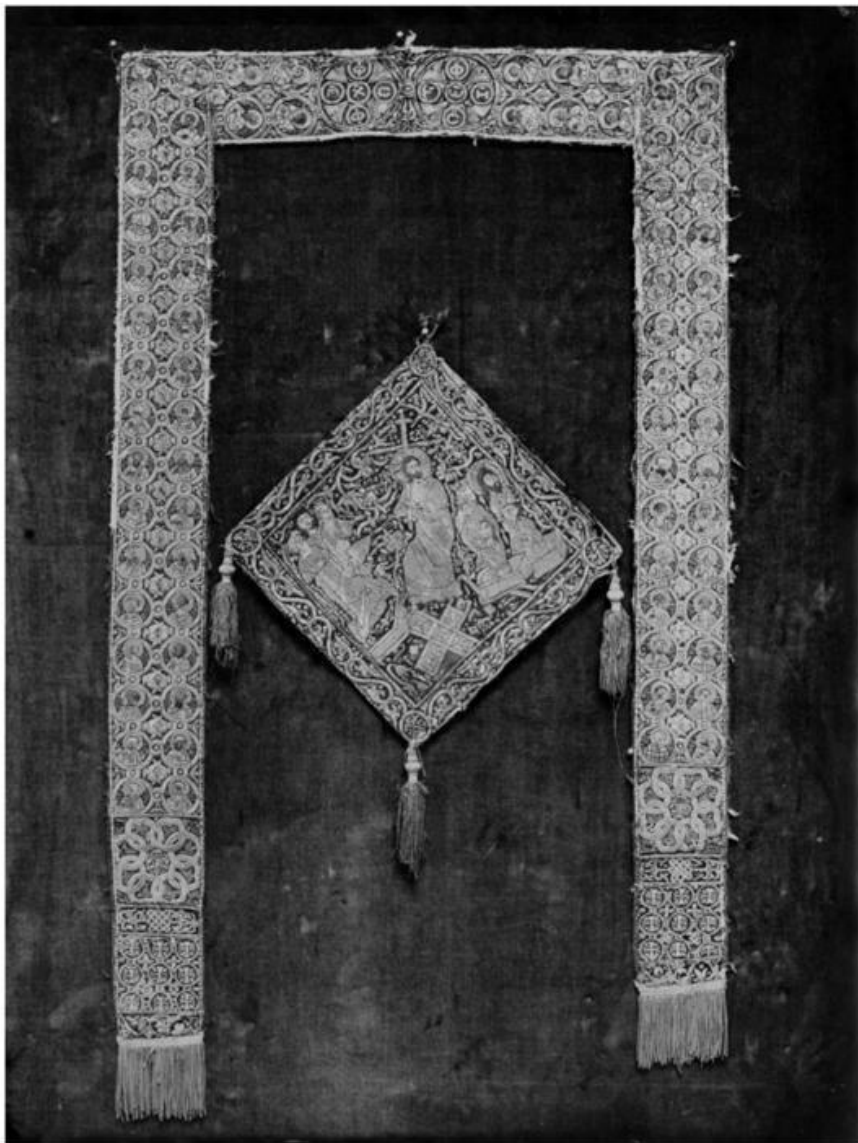


Fig. 2.14. Epitrachelion and Epigonation of Metropolitan Anthimos Kritopoulos, c. 1370-1389. Tismana Monastery, Romania. Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE-SR, Paris.

The programme of images assembled on the Vatican Sakkos explicates this aspect of the deesis theme. The composition that dominates the front of the garment (see fig. 2.15), despite its unusual format, may be regarded as a Great Deesis. Christ Emmanuel appears enthroned on a rainbow in the centre of a golden disk from which the four living creatures (the symbols of the Evangelists) emerge. The Virgin and John the Baptist flank him with their usual gestures of

paraklesis. Their pose is echoed by an extraordinary multitude of saints and angels in the surrounding circle. Just as on the epitrachelia, the saints are arranged by class, in this case including groups of holy women and Old Testament figures along with the more usual apostles, bishops, and martyrs. Millet and others have drawn attention to the dependence of the embroidered composition on representations of the Last Judgement, which is emphasized by the inscription around the head of Christ, 'The Resurrection and the Life'.⁶⁴ The image represents the consummation to be achieved at the Last Day of Christ's eternal glory with his saints, whom he summons with the words inscribed in his open book: 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you.'⁶⁵



Fig. 2.15. Calling of the Elect. Vatican Sakkos, (front view). Photo: E21769, Fototeca Nazionale ICCD, Roma.

The front of the sakkos represents the completion of the work of

theosis, or deification, among the saints. Their glory is foreshadowed in Christ's Transfiguration, pictured on the back of the garment (see fig. 2.16).⁶⁶ In the theological controversy over the set of spiritual practices known as Hesychasm that raged in the middle decades of the fourteenth century, the Transfiguration assumed a prominent role. The dispute between Gregory Palamas, the champion of the Hesychast cause, and his opponents, led by Barlaam of Calabria and Gregory Akyndinos, came to centre on the nature of the light that dazzled the apostles at the Transfiguration. Those opposed to the Hesychasts argued that, since God was altogether beyond human perception, the light that shone around Christ on Mt. Tabor had to have been created by God but totally distinct from the divine being. Palamas articulated a doctrine distinguishing between the essence of God, entirely unknowable, and the energies of God, which could be perceived by the enlightened Christian. According to his doctrine, the light that the apostles saw at the Transfiguration was divine and uncreated, an energy proceeding from the invisible Godhead.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the practitioners of Hesychasm could hope to witness this same, eternal and uncreated light inwardly, through contemplation and continuous prayer.⁶⁸ Whether or not the Vatican Sakkos directly reflects these Hesychast trends of the mid-fourteenth century, its use of the image of the Transfiguration builds on a longstanding theme of Byzantine theology. As early as the eighth century St John of Damascus argued that the Transfiguration represents not only the revelation of Christ's divinity, but the glorification of the human flesh in which Christ chose to It thus reveals in advance the spiritual, resurrected body the faithful will put on at the last day.



Fig. 2.16. Transfiguration of Christ, Vatican Sakkos, (back view), mid14th century. Treasury of St Peter's. Photo: E21775, Fototeca Nazionale, ICCD, Roma.

The image of Christ in the glory of the saints is at the same time a reflection of the sacramental reality of the Eucharist, his union with his people on earth. It is for this reason that the depiction of the Communion of the Apostles flanks the glory of Christ and the saints on the shoulders of the garment, unfolding the mystery of the Eucharistic rite for which the sakkos was made and worn (see fig. 2.17). Just as Symeon of Thessalonike asserted that icons of the deesis on the templon signified Christ's simultaneous presence with his saints in heaven and with his Church on earth, the Great Deesis on vestments, whether stole or sakkos, affirms this double reality of Christ's sacramental presence.

We have already spoken of allusions to Eucharistic theology in the depiction of the Great Deesis on vestments. A number of embroidered vestments, however, bear subject matter explicitly referring to the Eucharist itself. In the medium of monumental painting, such themes were concentrated in proximity to the altar and apse on the walls of the sanctuary. The altar area, like other parts of the Byzantine church, underwent its own iconographic development in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Themes such as the Communion of the Apostles were added to the sanctuaries of Byzantine churches in the eleventh century and following. There they coexisted with the older iconography of the Virgin and Child in the apse and, often, the Annunciation flanking the sanctuary opening. Later additions, such as the images of the concelebrating bishops and the Eucharistic fraction or melismos helped to create a distinctly liturgical programme on the walls around the altar.



Fig. 2.17. Communion of the Apostles, (detail of sleeve), Vatican Sakkos, 14th century. Treasury of St Peter's. Photo: E21780, Fototeca Nazionale, ICCD, Roma.

We have already noted the disproportionately prominent role that bishop saints play in the decoration of liturgical vestments, often as members of the Great Deesis composition. Within the sanctuary, these embroidered figures would be juxtaposed with the ranks of bishops depicted on the curving wall of the apse. From the twelfth century, the figures of the bishops are regularly turned inward in a three-

quarter pose towards a real or painted altar. They thus figure as notional participants in the celebration of the liturgy.⁷⁰ While the pose of the bishops in wall painting is distinct from the frontal pose of bishops on vestments, their depiction in both contexts helps to draw a connection between the vestments worn by the celebrant and the painted representation of the episcopal 'concelebrants' surrounding him at the altar. The Major Sakkos of Photios, for example, is striking for the assembly of forty holy bishops-including Photios himself-that decorate its sides. The juxtaposition with the usual Late Byzantine iconography of the bishops in the apse must have added another level of emphasis to the placement of the wearer among Holy Fathers of the Church. While this juxtaposition would have been only intermittently visible to the laity gathered on the opposite side of the sanctuary screen, its ideological import for the wearer and his fellow clergy would be no less great.

The Communion of the Apostles is another significant scene associated with the sanctuary, often placed so that it would be visible from the nave over the templon. Typically, Christ appears twice, distributing the bread on one side of the apse and administering the cup on the other. Because the scene is traditionally separated into two episodes, it is an especially suitable subject for the two cuffs of the epimanikia. A pair of fifteenth-century cuffs date from Vintila Voda in Romania survives in Bucharest (see fig. 2.18 [Plate 11]).⁷² As in monumental depictions of the scene, Christ stands at an altar under an architectural canopy, and he is assisted by angel-deacons waving liturgical fans. The iconography, evoking the furnishings and ceremonial of a Byzantine church, emphasizes the identity between Christ's self-offering and the celebrant's action in each subsequent Eucharist.

The Eucharistic sacrifice is the principle reference of another image, the composition known as the Anapeson. The theme shows the child Jesus reclining in sleep, often watched over by the Virgin Mary and an angel. The iconography takes its name from the passage in Genesis in which Jacob prophesies the future lineage of his sons: 'Judah is a lion's whelp: from the tender plant, my son, thou art gone up, having couched thou liest as a lion, and as a whelp; who shall stir him up?'⁷³ From an early date, the passage was taken as a prophecy of the death and resurrection of Christ, whose ancestry was from the house of Judah.⁷⁴ The depiction of the subject highlights its Passion symbolism: Christ Child's sleep foreshadows his death, and the angel who watches over him bearing the cross and other instruments of the Passion makes clear the idea of sacrifice. The image appears in several

fresco programmes of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, including the Protaton on Mt. Athos, Berende in Bulgaria, Resava Monastery in Serbia, and the Peribleptos at Mistra.⁷⁵ The very fine epigonation from Patmos is an example of its execution in embroidery (see fig. 2.19).⁷⁶ The young Christ Emmanuel reclines on a pallet, while an angel holding instruments of the Passion in a kantharos stands behind him. The Virgin's gesture of waving a fan over the sleeping Christ further links the image of the child with the Eucharistic elements on the altar, which are fanned by the deacon during the consecration.⁷⁷ The Major Sakkos of Photios bears the same image (lacking the figure of the Virgin, however) just below the yoke on its front side.





Fig. 2.18. Communion of the Apostles. Epimanikia from Vintila-Voda in Romania, 15th century. Photo: Reproduced by permission of the National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

Also on the Major Sakkos, beneath the Crucifixion, is the image of Christ in the tomb beneath a canopy with lamps (see fig. 2.20). This representation combines the Gospel narrative of Christ's entombment with a liturgical emphasis on the Eucharistic commemoration of his death. The altar-like slab of the tomb, the domed canopy and hanging lamps reinforce the liturgical reading of the image. It bears comparison with the epitaphios sindon, the cloth bearing an embroidered representation of the dead body of Christ. Although its current use in the Orthodox churches is restricted to the rites of Holy Week and Easter, its origins, as I will argue in the next chapter, lie in the offertory procession of bread and wine, the Great Entrance, in the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy. The symbolism attached to this procession, as we shall see, relates closely to the Passion, death, and burial of Christ. The depiction of the dead [Christ on the sakkos also resembles frescoes of the melismos, or fraction, depicted in the apses of many Late Byzantine churches. In most versions of this theme, the infant Christ, shown lying in a paten and partly covered by the Eucharistic veils, represents the consecrated bread and wine. In a few cases, adult Christ lies on the fictive altar painted on the wall \[Plate 12\]\].](#)⁷⁸ The embroidered images of the reclining Christ—whether as the sleeping infant or as the crucified man—invoke the theme of the Eucharistic sacrifice in the same way as monumental paintings with similar subjects. As we shall see in the next chapter, they also engage the mystagogical interpretation of the liturgical rite as a reenactment

of Christ's life, death, and resurrection.



Fig. 2.19. Christ Anapeson. Epigonation, 14th century. Monastery of St John the Theologian, Patmos. From A. Kominis et al. (eds.), *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery* (Athens, 1988), 212.

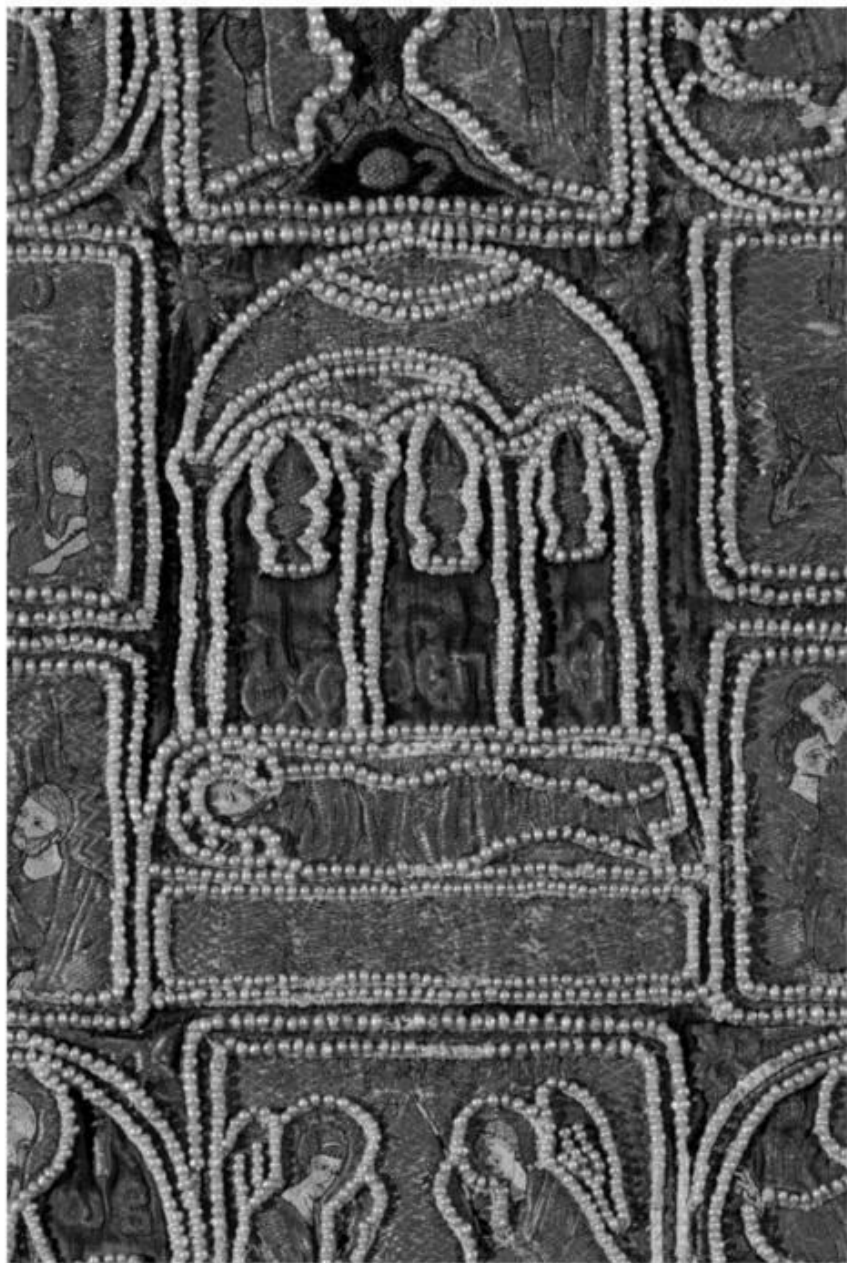


Fig. 2.20. Major Sakkos of Photios, Christ Epitaphios, (detail of fig. 2.8), c. 1414-1417. Photo © State Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve. 'The Moscow Kremlin'.

Thus far we have been comparing images on liturgical vestments with images in the media of painting and mosaic that share the same iconography. In almost all cases one or more of the symbolic meanings attached to specific imagery in monumental art prove to be equally applicable to embroidered images. This should hardly surprise us, as the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea orders the making of icons of whatever 'suitable material' without distinction.⁷⁹ It would be rash to assume however, that the nature of an image on a garment is identical to one on a wall or on a painted panel. Because they were deployed on liturgical dress, embroidered images were subject to the mobility of the wearer. The changes in medium, scale, and arrangement, the juxtaposition with other, fixed images, and, most important, the living body underneath them all affected, to varying degrees, the meaning of the images on embroidered vestments.



Fig. 2.21. The Melismos, fresco, 1376-1377. Markov Monastery. Photo courtesy of Professor Elizabeta Dimitrova, Skopje.

In Chapter 1 we discussed the rulings of Byzantine canonists against vestments made of silk textiles or having multiple colours. Modern objections to embroidered images on liturgical dress follow another line of reasoning entirely. At least one twentieth-century Orthodox

theologian has criticized figurally embroidered vestments for failing to conform to the image theology of Nicaea II. He cites as problematic the partial concealment of the images due to the layering of the vestments, their proximity to the 'shameful' parts of the body, and their movement and undulation as the celebrant changes position-all unsuitable treatment for images that are regarded as holy. Furthermore, he laments the same repetitiveness we have already noted in their selection of iconography.⁸⁰ Despite the objections to the costliness of such adornment to vestments, Late Byzantine authors have left us no recorded complaints about the sartorial use of sacred images per se. What, then, were their expectations and assumptions about images on costume?

Many of the images embroidered on vestments would indeed have been obscured by the layering of garment on garment. Embroidered epitrachelia, for instance, despite bearing images all along their length, would have only been visible below the hem of the celebrant's phelonion and above the line of its collar. Furthermore, many images are of such small scale that they would be difficult to discern clearly at any significant distance. Finally, the nature of the medium itself plays a role. In gold embroidery, much of the design is based on contrasts of texture rather than of colour, limiting the clarity of images in subdued light. Because of the small scale of many of the vestments, the identifying inscriptions-almost a *sine qua non* of post-iconoclastic icons on panel-become curtailed to the point of near illegibility.⁸¹

On the other hand, the liturgical rites of the Late Byzantine period brought the faithful into close contact with the vested clergy. Most Byzantine churches built after iconoclasm are on a relatively intimate scale, with domes seldom spanning more than fifteen feet.⁸² Churches built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are, as a rule, even more diminutive, with compressed interiors relieved only by the steep proportions of the dome and vaults.⁸³ Despite the sanctuary barrier that kept the altar area mostly concealed from the faithful in the nave, the rite itself prescribed the intermingling of the laity and clergy. The very fact of the clergy's concealment for much of the service lent additional dramatic emphasis to those moments when they emerged into the open. Whereas the deacon was present among the people in the nave for most portions of the developed Byzantine rite, the celebrant remained hidden within the sanctuary except for relatively brief intervals at the Little and Great Entrances, the ceremonial processions, respectively, of the book of the Gospels and the eucharistic offerings of bread and wine.⁸⁴ The path of these two

entrance processions took the priest out of the sanctuary by the north door and led him through the midst of the people to return via the central, 'Holy Doors' of the templon.⁸⁵ In a small, crowded church, equally devoid of the pews of the modern era or the liturgical furniture of crowd control typical of early Byzantine churches,⁸⁶ the laity must have pressed in closely on the clergy in procession. ⁸⁷

Byzantine liturgical rubrics are consistent in their directions that the priest and deacon vest in the sanctuary, away from the gaze of the people.⁸⁸ Bishops, however, are a special case. As noted above in Chapter 1, liturgical sources of the twelfth century and earlier attest that the bishop entered the church fully vested.⁸⁹ This practice was a survival from the older stational rite, in which the bishop arrived at the church in solemn procession. With the decline of stational services, the procession itself would have been omitted on most occasions. Only the bishop's appearance in the nave at the Little Entrance, i.e. the procession of the Gospel book, remained as a relic of the earlier practice. A suitable substitute for the bishop's arrival in state is attested by the late fourteenth century: the bishop is ceremonially vested in the nave at the beginning of the liturgy.⁹⁰ The vesting of the bishop on a throne in the centre of the church would have presented the congregation with an opportunity to see the vestments up close, one piece at a time. The increasing splendour of the decoration of the episcopal vestments themselves may well have been a factor contributing to the rise of this practice that exposed them to the view of the congregation.

The ceremonial use of vestments provides some clues as to the expectations of those who decorated them with an array of smallscale images. Legibility of individual images was clearly not the first priority. Both for those who wore them and those who beheld them from afar, images on vestments functioned very differently from icons displayed for public contemplation and veneration in the church. For the priest putting on the vestments one by one, the images embroidered on them were accessible to close inspection, but only momentarily. Once he had donned his insignia, most of their images would be hidden from him under his other vestments or behind his back. It would hardly have been possible to directly venerate such images, as the canons of Nicaea II prescribed, but they could function as a sort of amuletic protection to the priest in the exercise of his ministry.

Although the official theory of images propounded by the Second Council of Nicaea and reiterated in subsequent centuries placed the

power of the icon in the intercession of the figure represented, the old belief in the inherent power of the icon never died away completely. Henry Maguire has drawn attention to the amuletic function of images on the dress of Early Byzantine laity. Anonymous and frequently repeated images of holy riders and other powerful figures [were considered efficacious against threats of demons and disease. Because their potency was somehow located in the images themselves, it followed that their multiplication, as on textiles with woven repeats, only increased their efficacy. Following the defeat of iconoclasm, the Church was not able to eradicate such 'autonomous' uses of the holy image entirely, but it succeeded at least in driving such practices underground.](#)⁹¹ Ecclesiastically sanctioned cults of healing or miraculous images emphasized their efficacy through the intercession of the saint depicted rather than through the power of the icon itself.⁹² The controls on the image include conformity to established facial types and the use of identifying inscriptions. Even such restrictions as these, however, could not always eliminate an emphasis on the power inherent in the image, particularly when such an emphasis might serve the interests of the clergy themselves.

A case in point is found in the epitachelion of Metropolitan Photios (see above, fig. 2.13 [Plate 10]). At first glance, its eighty-eight busts of individual saints appear similar to the repeated images on [pre-iconoclastic textiles.](#)⁹³ Closer examination reveals that the embroiderer adhered to the traditional facial types for the various figures and even included minute identifying inscriptions within each roundel. The viewer's initial impression, however, may not be totally misleading. Even though the decoration hews to the norms of iconography established in the wake of iconoclasm, the density of the imagery gives the impression that the sheer number of the images is a source of power and protection for the wearer. The anomalous repetition of the Virgin's image twice in the first row of small busts is a detail that betrays the priority of form over iconographic norms in the making of the vestment. Taken individually, the images conform to the constraints imposed by the Second Council of Nicaea, but the overall composition shares the spirit of the amuletic garments worn by Early Byzantine laity that drew complaints from their [contemporary clergy.](#)⁹⁴ Like those early garments, a vestment such as the Epitachelion of Photios must have been intended, at least in part, to ward off the demonic powers that threatened laity and clergy alike. Service at the altar presented grave spiritual dangers to the priest who had fallen into an impure state either through negligence or the deceit of the devil.⁹⁵ Even unseen beneath other layers of clothing, the holy images could serve as a breastplate against demonic assaults that

could threaten the validity of the liturgy and the salvation of the priest.⁹⁶

One aspect of the embroidered vestments that sets them apart from their Early Byzantine parallels in lay dress is their conspicuous luxury. Even though Theodoret of Cyrrus and Asterios of Amaseia complain about the profligate expense in the figurally decorated dress of the rich, they never mention the gold thread and pearls that are such a striking feature of a vestment like the Epitrachelion of Photios. These brilliant and costly materials must have impressed contemporary viewers. The effect of the dozens of saints' images on the stole serves a similar purpose. The images are, just as much as the pearl borders around them, a form of conspicuous display meant to dazzle and awe both through their richness and the virtuosity of their execution.⁹⁷ Especially in the dim light of a church clouded with incense, the glint of the vestments as they shifted and caught the light would have been remarkably effective. Such an emphasis on material splendour, however, is not necessarily antithetical to a concern with the holiness of the images themselves. Even though the individual busts on the stole could hardly be read individually by an observer at a casual distance, they are recognizably holy images and, as such, embody the power of the saints they represent. In effect, the multiplication of embroidered images multiplied the sacred power in which the wearer was robed. While adhering to the letter of the iconographic code current in post-iconoclastic Byzantium, the vestments draw on an unofficial strand of image theory-in tension with the official teaching of the Church-that harnesses the numinous powers of holy images for the benefit of the clergy.

WALLS, SCREENS, AND BODIES

We have already established that the iconography of the embroidered vestments in large measure repeats the imagery found on the walls and icons of churches. The relationship set up by this iconographic repetition was also furthered by formal means. Not only might embroidered vestments bear the same images as depicted in the decoration of the church, they might, through the cut of the garment and the arrangement of the embroideries, draw parallels between the fixed images and the wearer himself.

This phenomenon above all holds true for the sakkos. Both the cut of the sakkos as a garment and its liturgical use would particularly invite comparison with painted images. The sakkos is a minimally tailored garment, consisting essentially of a long piece of fabric with

vestigial sleeves and a hole in the centre for the wearer's head. It thus tends to obscure the three-dimensionality of the body beneath, flattening it into a broad plane. The heavy embroidered decoration, of course, further stiffens the garment and contributes to its board-like drape on the torso. Eunice Dauterman Maguire has written of the 'muralization of the body' in Late Antiquity, as the tunic replaced the toga as the standard garment of the Roman world. The Early Byzantine tunic, woven in one piece, is similar in shape to the sakkos and similarly obscures the limbs beneath it. Maguire sees its flat, one-piece cut and the architectonic forms of its decoration as contributing to an impression of strength and solidity not unlike the block-like figures found in art of the Tetrarchic period (293-313), such as the famed porphyry group set into the Treasury facade of San Marco in Venice.⁹⁸ In the Late Byzantine period, a similar stylistic pattern is at work, although to a very different end.

Art historians have long recognized that Byzantine artists deliberately rendered sainted bishops as flatter, less corporeal, and, by extension, more otherworldly than other classes of saints such as apostles and warrior saints.⁹⁹ The distinctive flattening of bishops' images becomes all the more accentuated with the introduction of the polystaurion into such representations, beginning in the eleventh century (see fig. 2.22). The all-over patterns of crosses and angles depicted on these vestments in painting negate any sense of depth or modelling on the bodies of the figures. Actual episcopal garments must have had much the same effect. Even a sakkos without embroidered images, such as that of Metropolitan Aleksei (1354-1378) preserved in Moscow,¹⁰⁰ effectively denies the weight and volume of the body beneath it (see fig. 2.23). The shift from the relatively light and unadorned phelonion of the Middle Byzantine period to the polystaurion and sakkos in the Late Byzantine period reinforced the connection between the living clergy and their counterparts in painting. With the introduction of these vestments, the Byzantine clergy not only came to share the same costume as the holy bishops depicted in frescoes and icons, but also the same flat, disembodied aesthetic. By donning these garments, Late Byzantine clergy transformed their own appearance into the semblance of the saints shown in the frescoes and icons of the church interior and embroidered on the vestments themselves.



Fig. 2.22. Bishops (below) and apostles (above), fresco, c. 1260-1265. Church of the Trinity, Sopocani, Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE, Paris, cote B1831.

We have already pointed out the iconographic parallels that connect surviving Byzantine sakkoi to the decoration of the iconostasis. The formal qualities of the vestment reinforce such a connection. The stiff cut and decoration of the sakkos not only links the celebrant clothed in it to the holy hierarchs of Byzantine painting, it recalls the screen of icons on which such painted images appeared. Just as a templon frames its painted panels within its architectural members, the Major and Minor Sakkoi of Photios are divided into embroidered compartments, each of which frames an image. This is not to assert by any means that the sakkoi directly copy the layout of any particular iconostasis, any more than they duplicate the programme of a particular church.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the planar form of the garment and architectonic framing of the embroidered images would create a visual impression similar to a screen of icons. This aesthetic resemblance must have amplified the impression made by the repetition of images from the deesis and Feast Cycle in the decoration of the sakkoi. At certain moments of the liturgy, moreover, the celebrant who wore the sakkos would appear framed within the opening of the iconostasis. At the Great Entrance, unlike the other clergy, the celebrating bishop would remain in the sanctuary to greet the procession, facing the people between the doors and the altar and, in the case of the patriarch, flanked by his concelebrating bishops.¹⁰²

At the Communion, the congregation would have seen the images on the celebrant's vestments framed by the images on the templon as the curtain was drawn aside to reveal the bishop standing within the Royal Doors.¹⁰³ Both surrounded by and clothed in images, the celebrant would appear to be a living extension of the screen shielding the sanctuary and its mysteries from profane view.



Fig. 2.23. Sakkos of Metropolitan Aleksei, 14th century. From A. Goncharova, et al., *State Armoury in the Moscow Kremlin* (Moscow, 1969), pl. 23-5.

The associations between the episcopal vestments and the iconostasis must have also operated when the bishop was outside the church altogether, on the occasions of processions out of doors.¹⁰⁴ Although the stational liturgy did not occupy the prominence in the Late Byzantine period that it did in the patristic and Middle Byzantine eras, it was still practised in reduced form. Archbishop Symeon staged a vigorous revival, in early fifteenth-century Thessalonike, of the ancient stational practice of Constantinople. As in the capital, the central point of departure was the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia, while the destinations of the various processions were reassigned to local churches in Thessalonike.¹⁰⁵ We know from textual sources that textiles with embroidered images were part of the ritual for festal processions in Constantinople. Niketas Choniates describes the decoration of processional routes under the emperors of the Komnenos dynasty (1081-1185), who had the streets hung with embroideries depicting Christ and the saints.¹⁰⁶ In the Palaiologan period, PseudoKodinos describes the array of embroidered banners, both imperial and sacred, that accompany imperial processions and audiences.¹⁰⁷ In the case of stational processions with an archbishop vested in the sakkos, the celebrant's own costume may have supplied much of this mobile iconography. Clad in a moving wall of embroidered images, he would have appeared as a sort of double-sided iconostasis, a moveable sanctuary in the streets of the city.

LITURGICAL ACTION AND MIMESIS

The image of the bishop-celebrant as an embodiment of the sanctuary brings into focus the sacramental role he plays in persona Ecclesiae-in the role of the Church. Elements of the decoration of the church building that correspond to and comment on the liturgical action are repeated at human scale on the vestments of the clergy. Through repetition of the imagery in the church or imitation of the actions depicted therein, the embroidered decoration of vestments maps the interaction of iconography and liturgical action on to the celebrant himself.

The decoration of the epimanikia is a particularly apposite case. The most frequent subject by far for their decoration in the Byzantine period is the Annunciation. The inventory made in 1247 of the monastery of Boreine (formerly known in the scholarly literature as Koteine) mentions a pair of embroidered epimanikia with the Annunciation on one cuff and the Anastasis on the other, while the 1396 inventory of Hagia Sophia mentions a pair of epimanikia with the Annunciation surrounded by precious stones.¹⁰⁸ Certain surviving

examples follow the model of the epimanikia from Boreine, having the scene of the angelic salutation to Mary on one of the two cuffs. Such an epimanikion survives in the Trinity-St Sergius Monastery outside of Moscow, the gift of Sophia Palaiologina, wife of Ivan III, to the foundation.¹⁰⁹ The more usual solution, however, was to divide the figures of the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin on to the two cuffs. Such is the case with a pair of epimanikia from the Govora Monastery in Romania, now in Dating to the end of the fifteenth century, the cuffs frame the two protagonists of the scene under decorative arches and surrounded by a background of interlace (see fig. 2.24 [Plate 13]). The scene thus divided resembles the monumental depiction of the Annunciation spanning the sanctuary opening of Byzantine churches. A habitual place for the scene from the twelfth century onwards, the deployment of the figures of the Virgin and Gabriel on opposite sides of the sanctuary arch relates the scene to the Eucharistic The space between the two figures, in which the Holy Spirit descends upon Mary to effect the conception of Christ, coincides with the actual space in which Christ's incarnation is regularly made present through the sacrament. For the same reason, the doors within the screen often feature the Annunciation on their two halves. Evidence from manuscript illumination suggests that the figures of the Virgin and Gabriel were used on sanctuary doors in the Middle Byzantine period,¹¹² and a number of Palaiologan gates bearing paintings of the Annunciation survive. As in monumental decoration, the representation of the scene becomes symbolically coincident with the space of the altar and the sacramental presence of the Incarnation.





Fig. 2.24. Epimanikia with the Annunciation, early 16th century. Govora Monastery. Photo: Reproduced by permission of the National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

The analogous depiction of the Annunciation on the epimanikia serves the same function, but on the scale of the human body rather than of the building. Framed by the figures of the Virgin and Archangel, the space between the celebrant's hands becomes the locus of the Incarnation. The embroidery of the scene does not merely reproduce the image and its liturgical associations at smaller scale, it moves the symbolism to the personal level of the celebrant and his power to consecrate the Eucharist.

The depiction of the Communion of the Apostles on epimanikia also imitates the use of the scene in monumental art and assimilates the celebrant to the larger church. Just as Christ's administration of the bread and wine to the Apostles are separated into two separate scenes on either side of the apse and altar, so the epimanikia with this subject divide the communion under these species between the two cuffs. Three pairs with similar iconography may be assigned to the first half of the fifteenth century. The finest of these is a single cuff with the Communion of the Wine (the other is lost) preserved in the Bulgarian National Museum in Sofia (see fig. 2.25).¹¹⁴ As in monumental painting, the scene is set as though in a contemporary Byzantine church. Christ, clad in the patriarchal sakkos, stands at an altar beneath a ciborium. He administers the wine from a large, vase-like vessel to St Paul, who is accompanied by five other apostles. Diminutive angel-deacons hover in the air with their liturgical fans (rhipidia).¹¹⁵ Like the epimanikia with the Annunciation, the cuffs with the Communion of the Apostles transfer the scene from the walls

of the sanctuary to the body of the celebrant, making the latter a sort of sanctuary in microcosm. Furthermore, the distribution of the Eucharist at Christ's hands, depicted on the hands of the celebrant, emphasizes that Christ is the true minister of the sacrament. The inscriptions on the cuffs from Vintila-Voda (above, fig. 2.18 [Plate 'Take, eat, [this is my body]' and 'Drink ye all of this' recall the words of institution spoken by the celebrant in the Anaphora. Christ, the invisible high priest of the Eucharistic sacrifice, is made visible on the epimanikia in direct juxtaposition to the consecrated elements themselves.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the celebrant's actions in the communion are paralleled by Christ's on the cuffs. The Apostles approach and receive communion in both species. Although by the time of the embroidery, Byzantine laity received the sacrament as a mixture of bread and wine given with a spoon, the clergy, like the apostles on the cuffs, continued to receive the elements separately.¹⁷ The apostles' actions thus mimic those of assisting clergy at a liturgy celebrated by a bishop. The double signification of the scene is of the sacramental reality that the earthly liturgy mediates and the heavenly liturgy that is the eternal parallel to the earthly rites of the Church.

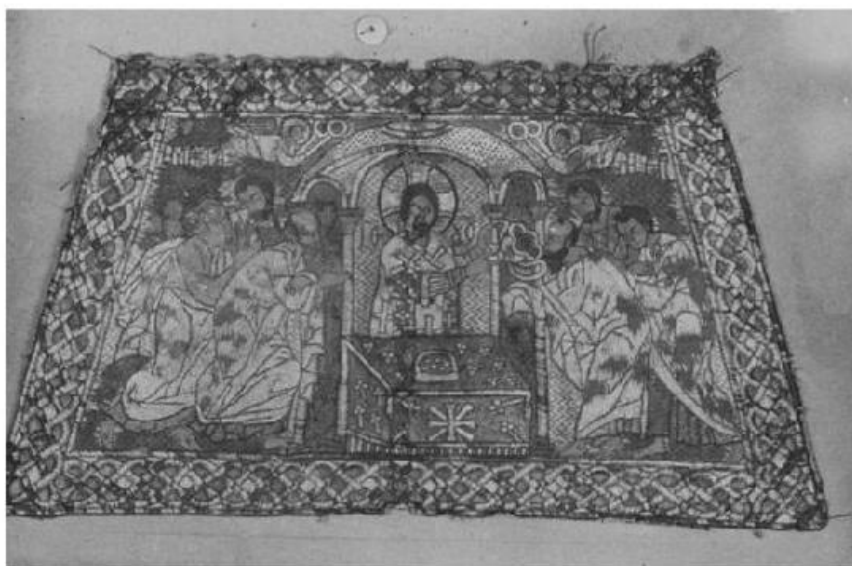


Fig. 2.25. Epimanikion with the Communion of the Apostles, 14th century. National Museum, Sofia. Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE, Paris, No. Inventaire 21664.

The Annunciation and the Communion of the Apostles depicted on embroidered vestments are obvious examples of liturgical mimesis: the images invoke the celebrant's role as the prime mover of the

liturgy in the place of Christ and as the representative of the Church. Other images, however, play the same role, albeit more subtly. The next chapter will explore how the Feast Cycle as a whole, filtered through the lens of the Byzantine mystagogical tradition, plays a special role in establishing a mimetic relationship between the celebrant's ministry and that of Christ himself.

Liturgical Mystagogy and the Embroidered Image

In the previous chapter, we noted the prevalence of certain subjects on vestments, namely the Great Deesis, the Feast Cycle, and Eucharistic themes such as the Communion of the Apostles. The physical context in which the vestments were worn helps to decode the meanings of certain subjects embroidered on them. Representations of the Annunciation in embroidery, for instance, have their meaning inflected both by their position on the arms of the celebrant and by their reduplication of images elsewhere in the church. The visual environment is not alone sufficient to explain, however, the stereotyped imagery of much of the corpus of liturgical embroidery. Specifically, why does the cycle of feasts recur with such regularity on a variety of vestments? To answer this question, we will have to examine more closely the Eucharistic liturgy and the Byzantine tradition of mystagogy-the exegesis of liturgical rites-that explained it to contemporary participants.

LITURGICAL COMMENTARIES AND ICONOGRAPHY

Between the eighth and the fifteenth centuries, Byzantine churchmen produced an extensive literature of commentary on the Eucharistic rite. Several of these commentaries associate the vestments of the clergy with specific symbolic meanings, and their impact is [evident in the content of the prayers of vesting that were late accretions in the text of the Byzantine liturgy.](#)¹ Given this evidence for the widespread reception of these interpretations of the vestments, it would be logical to assume a correlation between the iconography of each garment and the symbolism attributed to it by the commentators. Several modern scholars have, in fact, accepted such a conclusion as self-evident.² The bishop's omophorion, for instance, is regarded by numerous writers from all periods of Byzantium as a symbol of the lost sheep rescued by the good shepherd.³ Even the prayer (attested since the thirteenth century) that is recited while putting on the omophorion refers to this symbolism,⁴ and if one surveys Orthodox liturgical dress as a whole, one can find a number of embroidered omophoria of the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries that preserve depictions of Christ as the Good Shepherds. Any attempt to trace this correlation of symbolic meaning with embroidered iconography prior to the modern period, however, soon founders. The search for close alignment of decoration with the traditional symbolism among the surviving vestments of Byzantine date reveals that, on the contrary, they are almost entirely mismatched.

Let us take the epitachelion, the most common embroidered vestment from the Byzantine period, as an example. The *Historia ecclesiastica* of Germanos of Constantinople is the earliest source to mention the epitachelion, and its mention comes in the context of a discussion of its symbolism:

The epitachelion is the rope by which, having been bound and dragged forward by the neck, Christ, departing for his passion, was brought before the High Priest. The right side of the epitachelion represents the reed that they put in Christ's right hand in mockery. The left side represents the burden of the cross upon his shoulders.⁶

The passion symbolism that Germanos attributes to the stole is echoed in the prayer for vesting in Patmos 719, a thirteenth-century euchologion, which associates the epitachelion with Christ's crown of thorns:

And when [putting on] the epitachelion, the priest says, 'Plaiting a crown of thorns, they placed it about his neck-a yoke of righteousness-and having bound him, they led him up and handed him over to the governor, Pontius Pilate.'⁷

The linking of the stole with the instruments of Christ's death held considerable influence over the centuries, although the precise identification might vary. For the twelfth-century canonist Theodore Balsamon, for instance, the epitachelion represented the scourge with which Christ was whipped.⁸ Even though the passion symbolism of the stole articulated by commentators from Germanos to Balsamon could easily have been translated into visual imagery of Christ's passion or the instruments thereof, no surviving epitachelion of the Byzantine period bears such embroidered decoration. This is the more striking for the fact that one epitachelion of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, bears an inscription referencing Germanos' text and the coordinate vesting prayer for the epitachelion: 'And they delivered him to Pilate the governor.'⁹ The inscription, however, encircles an image of Christ Pantokrator, and the

front of the stole shows the saints of the Great Deesis, not narrative scenes (see ch.2, fig. 2.12). When scenes of Christ's Passion do occur, they are in every case part of the larger cycle of feasts (ch.2, figs. 2.3, 2.4 [Plate 4]). There is simply no discernable trace of the Passion symbolism of the vesting prayer in the embroidered iconography of surviving epitrachelia.

What of more abstract symbolism? Byzantine liturgical sources also provide an alternative line of symbolic thinking on the epitrachelion that offers a more spiritualized, moral interpretation of the vestment. The fourteenth-century author Nicholas Kabasilas, for instance, connects the stole to the charisma of ordination:

The stole upon the neck signifies the grace of priesthood poured out upon him [the priest], which reposes on the neck of him who has accepted the yoke of Christ and reaches down the breast as far as the feet, taming the heart and sanctifying the whole body ...¹⁰

Kabasilas' interpretation of the epitrachelion, in fact, seems to combine the most ancient element of the passion symbolism of Germanos-the yoke or tether-with the content of another vesting prayer attested in sources from the thirteenth century and later:

Blessed be God who pours out his grace upon his priests like ointment upon the head, that flows down upon the beard, the beard of Aaron, that ran down to the fringe of his clothing."

Symeon of Thessalonike, the last major Byzantine commentator on the liturgy, repeats the unction symbolism of this same vesting prayer in his interpretation of the stole. In addition to the descent of grace upon the celebrant, the epitrachelion represents for Symeon the priesthood of Christ himself as well as the yoke of Christ accepted in humility by the priest.¹²

If one were to assume a direct correspondence between the moral symbolism of the epitrachelion embraced by Kabasilas and Symeon of Thessalonike on the one hand, and the embroidered decoration of the epitrachelion on the other, how might this be manifested? The idea of divine grace is hardly susceptible to direct artistic representation, but a number of pictorial means of alluding to it would have been available to embroiderers had they meant to represent its outpouring on the priest. The surviving stoles neither evoke the anointing of the Aaronic priesthood of the Old Testament, nor do they specially single out its New Testament counterpart in the Pentecost.¹³ There is, in short, no detectable influence of the unction symbolism on the

decoration of the epitrachelion. Among all the liturgical vestments that are ornamented with embroidery in the Byzantine period, only the deacon's orarion receives decoration (albeit primarily in the form of inscription) that corresponds to its symbolic interpretation. If the embroidered images are related to liturgical symbolism at all, then the connection with the liturgy must be through some other means than the allegorical meanings assigned to the vestments themselves.

MYSTAGOGY AND THE CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE

We have already had occasion to observe the popularity of the Feast Cycle as a subject for embroidery on vestments and to single out one of its constituent scenes, the Annunciation, as a particularly significant one for the epimanikia. Why, however, was the Christological cycle so consistently presented as a whole? The answer may be found in the very same liturgical commentaries we have just been examining. Admittedly, the portions of the commentaries that deal directly with the meaning of the liturgical vestments prove to be less than helpful in explaining the choice of iconography in the embroideries. [The symbolism they attribute to the vestments, in fact, only holds up as an iconographic model for the stole of the deacon. The orarion is interpreted as a symbol of the deacon's angelic ministry and is decorated accordingly with the words of the seraphic hymn, 'Holy, holy, holy'.¹⁴](#) For the insignia of priests and bishops, another system of symbolic interpretation must be at work, and it may be found in the way the commentaries explain the mystical sense of the Eucharistic rite.

[The common ground shared by almost all Byzantine explanations of the Divine Liturgy is the interpretation of the actions of the rite as a symbolic reenactment of Christ's life.](#) ¹⁵ Even the fourteenth-century author Nicholas Kabasilas, whose symbolic interpretation of the vestments tends towards the moral and abstract rather than the allegorical, writes of the liturgy in terms such as these:

[The consecration of the elements-the sacrifice itself-commemorates the death, resurrection, and ascension of the Saviour, since it transforms these precious gifts into the very Body of the Lord, that Body which was the central figure in all these mysteries, which was crucified, which rose from the dead, which ascended into heaven. The ceremonies which precede the act of sacrifice symbolize the events which occurred before the death of Christ: his coming on earth, his first appearance and his perfect manifestation. Those which follow the act of sacrifice recall 'the promise of the Father', as the Saviour](#)

himself called it: that is, the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles, the conversion of the nations which they brought about, and their divine society.¹⁶

According to Kabasilas, like many Byzantine authors before him, the Eucharist is not only a memorial of Christ's passion,¹⁷ but provides a symbolic reenactment of his whole life from the Annunciation to the Ascension. Each of the ceremonies that precede the Eucharistic consecration—namely the preparation of the gifts in the prothesis, the readings and hymns, and the prayers of the faithful—symbolizes the events of Christ's infancy and ministry. The anaphora, or prayer of consecration, together with the offertory procession of the Great Entrance that introduces it, represents Christ's death and resurrection; while the prayers and blessings after the communion stand for Christ's Ascension, the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the spreading of the Gospel.

The tradition of such an 'historical' exegesis of the liturgy was codified in the eighth-century commentary, appropriately titled the *Historia ecclesiastica*, of Germanos I, Patriarch of Constantinople from AD 715-730.¹⁸ Although the authorship of the text has been repeatedly questioned by modern scholars, its authenticity in medieval Byzantium was wholeheartedly accepted. Based on its attribution to the sainted iconodule patriarch, the text enjoyed widespread authority and (less fortunately) attracted numerous accretions. Despite the later additions to the text, its theme is clear. Germanos' commentary follows a similar trajectory to the one Kabasilas traces eight centuries later: the liturgy of the word is treated as an image of Christ's incarnation and ministry and the anaphora as a reenactment of his Passion, death, and resurrection.¹⁹ In certain later commentaries, such as the eleventh-century *Protheoria* of Nicholas of Andida,²⁰ the unfolding of the liturgical action is mapped one-to-one on to the historical events of the Incarnation. Thus, for instance, the priest who leads the opening prayers of the pontifical liturgy represents John the Baptist, who prepared the way of the Lord; the ceremonial entrance of the bishop represents Christ's baptism in the Jordan River, when his divinity was first manifested; and the withdrawal of the priest from the altar at the approach of the bishop is a symbol of John the Baptist's humility at the coming of the Christ. Each sacramental action is interpreted as an image (*eikon*) of a prior work of Christ. This symbolic treatment of the Eucharist as a series of narrative images is, of course, equally adaptable to visual as to textual expression. The *Protheoria*, in fact, appeals to the painted images in the church as confirmation for its own narrative reading of the liturgy: 'For in them

all the mysteries of Christ our God's becoming man are seen by the faithful, from the coming of the Archangel Gabriel to the Virgin down to the Ascension of the Lord and his Second Coming.²² It is precisely this habit of allegorical thinking about the liturgical rite that assumes pictorial form in the Feast Cycle.

How representative are these commentaries for the way the Byzantine clergy and people conceived of their liturgy? A detailed study of the manuscript traditions of the various Byzantine commentaries on the liturgy would tell us a great deal about their popularity and continuity at various periods, but such an undertaking remains a desideratum of liturgical studies. Only the late commentaries of Nicholas Kabasilas and Symeon of Thessalonike have been subject to modern critical editions; the other surviving commentaries must be approached with a degree of caution, as they have undergone various emendations and accretions. The *Historia ecclesiastica* of Germanos is a case in point. Its continued popularity in the Byzantine period is witnessed by the many additions it has received over centuries of copying and use, and its textual tradition still awaits detailed study. The existence of a late ninth-century Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius already reveals additions to the hypothesized original stratum, and numerous later additions of the medieval period kept the text abreast with contemporary liturgical developments. The *Historia* itself enjoyed a quasi-canonical status in Byzantium. At least fifty manuscript copies of it survive from the Middle Ages; a number of these are found in manuscripts of the liturgy. Its importance is amply demonstrated by the fact that the treatise was included as part of the *editio princeps* of the Orthodox liturgies printed at Rome in 1526.²⁶

The most persuasive evidence for the influence of the commentaries on modes of thinking about the Eucharist, however, can be found in the texts of the liturgical rite itself. As they developed over centuries, the prayers and formulae that accompanied the ceremonies of the liturgy increasingly assimilated the symbolism attributed to those very actions by the traditional commentaries.²⁷ We have already seen this to be the case with the prayers of vesting. It is especially evident in portions of the service that were formed or elaborated in later centuries, such as the prothesis rite. As a ceremonial preparation of the eucharistic bread and wine that was appended to the beginning of the liturgy after iconoclasm, the prothesis was an apt candidate for the application of symbolic parallels from the infancy of Christ.²⁸ Such symbolism could take startlingly literal forms. The prothesis involves the cutting of a large, raised loaf or loaves of bread into a number of particles in honour of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints. Only the

central portion of one loaf, the amnos, or lamb, is actually consecrated at the altar. The eleventh-century Protheoria describes the cutting out of the amnos from the loaf as representing the birth of Christ from the womb of his mother. The deacon who does the cutting is said to represent the Archangel Gabriel, who announces the impending birth of Christ to the Virgin. The prothesis chamber in which the gifts are prepared represents the setting of the hidden life of Christ: Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Capernaum.²⁹ Formulae reflecting this interpretation eventually made their way into the rubrics of the prothesis rite. After the particles of bread have been arranged on the paten, the priest covers the gifts with the asterisk, a device consisting of two arcs of metal, intended to keep the veils from touching the Eucharistic species. The earliest surviving euchologies for the prothesis have the action accompanied by Psalm 32/33:6, 'By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his The cosmological content of the verse seems sufficiently apt, as the crossed arcs of the asterisk ('star') held the veil, the aer ('air') suspended over the paten like a dome. Soon, however, the narrative interpretation current in the liturgical commentaries displaced this verse with a reference to the nativity of Christ. In euchologia of the thirteenth century and later, the placement of the asterisk is accompanied by the words, 'And the star came to rest over where the child Formulae like this one canonize the life-of-Christ symbolism of the mystagogical treatises within the text and ritual of the liturgy itself. By no means confined to the prothesis rite, they can be found sprinkled throughout liturgical manuscripts of the later Byzantine period.³²

The tradition of paralleling liturgical actions with events from the life of Christ, what we might call a historical or, perhaps better, a biographical approach to the liturgy, coexisted with a more abstract focus on its anagogical symbolism, that is, the explanation of how the liturgy's actions point the mind heavenward. Liturgical scholars have opposed these two tendencies as *historia* and *theoria*; both grow out of the four-fold tradition of scriptural exegesis canonized by patristic authors.³³ The tradition of *theoria*, the anagogical contemplation of the heavenly realities concealed beneath the visible signs of the liturgy, flourished in Late Antiquity, notably in the PseudoDionysian corpus.³⁴ The settlement of the iconoclastic controversy, however, seems to have tipped the scales decisively in favour of *historia*, a narrative mode of symbolic interpretation that not only allowed for contemplative inward visualization of the mystagogical meaning of the rite but its actual painted representation as well.³⁵ In general, the commentaries combine *historia* and *theoria* in varying measures. After the extreme historicizing allegory of the Protheoria, the work of

Nicholas Kabasilas restores a balance, while Symeon of Thessalonike's emphasis on anagogical interpretation represents a partial revival of a Pseudo-Dionysian outlook.³⁶ We have already seen the latter's interpretation of the meaning of the deesis on the iconostasis in terms that are purely anagogical. His approach, however, stands a bit apart from the tradition of liturgical commentary dominated by the work of Germanos and its many layers of anonymous additions. It is to the Christological interpretation of the liturgy by Germanos and his successors through Nicholas Kabasilas that we may look to explain the prevalence of the Feast Cycle on vestments.

READING THE EMBROIDERED IMAGES

Recent scholarship on monumental painting in Byzantium can serve as a guide to the interpretation of the relationship between images and mystagogy.³⁷ The emphasis on the Feast Cycle's character as a coherent synopsis of the Gospel reflects the way at least some Byzantine beholders saw these images. Manuel Philes, the fourteenth-century poet, in an epigram on an icon of the twelve feasts, refers to them as 'advocates of salvation', meaning that they represent the divine plan, or *oikonomia*, to redeem the world through Christ's Incarnation.³⁸ This is exactly the sense in which Nicholas Kabasilas explains the sequence of events one is meant to contemplate in the course of the Divine Liturgy:

All the things accomplished in the rites of the gifts refer to the economy [*oikonomia*] of the Saviour, so that we, having its contemplation before our eyes, might sanctify our souls and thus be made fit for the reception of the gifts.³⁹

In such a pattern of interpretation, the difference between these metaphorical images and the physical images erected in the church is minimal.

When the Feast Cycle is depicted in monumental painting or mosaic, the individual images exist in three-dimensional relationships with one another, and their order and position can be manipulated to bring certain meanings into focus (as we have already seen to be the case with the Annunciation).⁴⁰ The two-dimensional surface of the sanctuary barrier, paradoxically, brings the cyclical nature of the feasts to the fore. The disposal of the scenes on a row of panels leaves the artist little room for particular manipulations or juxtapositions of scenes, so the emphasis rests on the nature of the sequence as a precis of the life of Christ. Furthermore, the icons and the templon on which

they are displayed from the visible veil over the hidden mysteries enacted within the sanctuary. Christopher Walter has suggested that the images on the templon might have functioned as a locus for lay devotion during the liturgy. Like the rosary or lay-folks' mass books in the medieval West, the images would have provided a series of points on which to meditate while the clergy carried out the service largely beyond the sight and hearing of the people.⁴¹

Such an explanation, however, may draw too neat a distinction between lay and clerical piety in Byzantium. The Byzantine rite was undeniably clerical in its focus, and the congregation was generally restricted to a contemplative rather than participatory role. Nevertheless, the contemplation of the liturgy under the visible form of the Feast Cycle was an exercise shared in by priests and people alike. Andre Grabar long ago recognized this phenomenon in the cycle of Christological scenes decorating an 11th-century liturgical roll in Jerusalem, Staurou 109. This scroll contained the texts of prayers to be recited by the celebrant at the altar during the liturgy, with historiated initial illustrations with scenes from the life of Christ. Grabar inferred that the feast scenes painted in the margins of the texts of the prayers were meant to operate not simply as evocations of the yearly commemorations of the church calendar but also as a visual parallel to the daily reenactment of Christ's incarnate life through the liturgy.⁴² According to Nicholas Kabasilas, both the physical images and their mental equivalents were, for clergy and people alike, a tool whereby they could be sanctified and placed in a right mind for the celebration and reception of the Eucharist:

It was necessary that such a contemplation, able to inspire us, be shown by signs in the order of the divine service, so that we should not consider with the mind alone, but indeed should also see in some fashion with our eyes the great poverty of the one who is rich, the dwelling with us of him who inhabits every place, the reproaches suffered by the blessed one, the sufferings of the impassible one; being so hated, how much he loved; being so great, how much he abased himself; and what he suffered and what he accomplished to spread this table before us.⁴³

The images of the Feast Cycle embody precisely this economy of salvation, entered into and participated in through the Eucharist, that brings the believer to theosis, to deification. The images thus act in concert with the sacrament, not as a substitute for participation in a distant liturgical action, but as visual manifestation of the underlying meaning of the rite.⁴⁴

If representations of the Feast Cycle in icons and monumental painting evoke the unfolding of the liturgical rite, then the embroidered images of the same subjects on vestments play a particularly prominent role in bringing this symbolism to the fore. Each action of the liturgy evokes for the commentators some specific act from the life of Christ. This contemplation naturally coincides with the idea that the celebrant ministers in the place of Christ, in persona Christi. This is particularly true of the ministry of bishops, as Symeon of Thessalonike makes clear:

Now the priest was previously called the angel of the Lord almighty by the Holy Scripture, in that he is both the one who proclaims divine things and also the one who fulfills the purposes of God [cf Ps. 102 (103):20-1]. But he also [represents \[eikonizei\] Jesus, for he possesses his power through ordination... And the bishop even more so, in that it is written that he sits upon the throne of Christ, and he is blessed with his power to bind and loose through the grace of God's might. For the bishop falls in the succession of the apostles. For these reasons, and because he is representing \[eikonizon\] Christ, when he is about to officiate, he puts on the holy vestments, all of them having symbolism and spiritual interpretation, about which we speak to the best of our ability.](#)⁴⁵

Three things become clear from Symeon's symbolic explanation of the orders of ministry. The bishop preeminently represents Christ and the fullness of his power.⁴⁶ The priest also has this function, as did, Symeon implies, his Old Testament counterpart in the Temple, but in a contingent way via his ordination by the bishop.⁴⁷ Finally, the episcopal vestments are seen as a natural manifestation of the bishop's ministry in persona Christi. Note also that Symeon repeatedly uses the verb eikonizein, meaning, literally, to represent as in an icon. The context of his treatise makes it clear that it is to be understood in a symbolic sense, but it is a short distance from the bishop being the representative of Christ to being a representation of him.⁴⁸

The embroidery of the Feast Cycle on the liturgical vestments makes concrete this latter interpretation of the bishop's role. In effect, the bishop puts on Christ's image. The scenes of the Feast Cycle not only represent Christ in their individual compositions, but, taken together, they form a composite portrait of the incarnate Logos. The Feast Cycle can be said to explicate the icon of Christ, whose depiction was made possible only by the Incarnation.⁴⁹ The symbolism of the liturgy reinforces this equivalence between the image of Christ and the images of his works. In the words of Nicholas Kabasilas:

The whole mystagogy is as it were some single icon of a single body of the Savior's conduct of life; it brings before our eyes all its parts from beginning to end according to their respective order and harmony.⁵⁰

By invoking the analogy of an icon of Christ, Kabasilas implies that the liturgy builds up a unified image of Christ's body through the individual acts symbolically reenacted by the clergy. Even though there is seldom a one-to-one correspondence between the scenes the commentaries put forward for mystical contemplation and those represented on liturgical vestments, the two cycles of images—the mental and the visible—function in parallel. The embroidered Feast Cycle on the vestments makes the celebrant's role as icon of Christ all the clearer as he moves through each action of the rite. As those actions symbolically reenact the incarnate life of Jesus, the celebrant is cast as his stand-in not only in a sacramental sense as president of the liturgy (acting in persona Christi), but in a historical sense as well. The embroidered images thus identify the celebrant as the image of Christ in each successive moment of the liturgy. Through the mediation of the vestments, the celebrant is both a representation of Christ as eternal High Priest in heaven and as the incarnate Word on earth.

The identity between Christ's historical body and his Eucharistic body is the basic notion underlying the life-of-Christ symbolism in the explication of the liturgy.⁵¹ For Nicholas Kabasilas, the contemplation of the incarnate life of Christ and, by extension, its painted representation in the church, is able to sanctify the worshipper to be a fit recipient of Communion precisely because they represent the same incarnate Christ as is present in the Eucharist itself. The icons of Christ's life are thus effectual agents of theosis, the divinization of humankind effected by God's assumption of humanity in the incarnation.⁵² The principal and normative locus of theosis, is the Communion, which transforms the communicant into a member of Christ's body.⁵³ We have already seen the link between image and sacrament articulated in the selection of scenes on the Vatican Sakkos. The Communion of the Apostles appears on the sleeves, where it links the image of Christ's glory in the Transfiguration with the image of the glory of the redeemed on the front of the sakkos (see ch.2, figs. 2.15-2.17). The images thus articulate the doctrine that the Eucharist is the sacramental means by which believers achieve union with Christ and share in his eternal glory.⁵⁴ A parallel case may be found in the eleventh-century liturgical scroll Staurou 109, which parallels the text of the pontifical liturgy with images from the Feast Cycle. The initial 'O' of the prayer behind the ambo, concluding the Communion rite, contains a miniature of the Transfiguration (see fig. 3.1). Its position

here-out of narrative sequence-signifies the promised glory that believers are made heir to through the Eucharist,⁵⁵ but it is only the culmination of a parallel between the liturgy and the life of Christ that began with the entrance of the celebrant at the beginning of the Eucharist.⁵⁶

By clothing the celebrant in the images of Christ's incarnate life that parallel the sanctifying grace of the Eucharist, the minister is shown as an effectual agent of theosis. The historical symbolism expressed by his vestments link him to the high-priestly role of Christ, for it is precisely Christ's historical, incarnate life that is offered, once for all, in the Eucharistic sacrifice.⁵⁷ The celebrant thus symbolically assumes Christ's dual role as priest and oblation, as articulated in the prayer of the Cheroubikon that accompanies the Great Entrance procession: 'For you are the one who offers and is offered, who accepts and is distributed, Christ our God, and to you we send up glory with your eternal Father and your all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, always, now and forever, and unto ages of ages.'⁵⁸ Nicholas Kabasilas speaks metaphorically of the events of Christ's life and passion being inscribed on the bread of the offering 'as on a tablet'.⁵⁹ The celebrant, who is not himself, of course, the Eucharistic offering, nonetheless bears these events on his body as actual images, linking him to Christ who is the eternal and true sacrifice of the Eucharist.⁶⁰



Fig. 3.1. Initial 'O' with Transfiguration of Christ, liturgical roll, late 11th century. Jerusalem, MS Staurou 109. From A. Grabar, 'Une rouleau liturgique et ses peintures', DOP 8 (1954), fig. 22.

The vestments can make these theological implications visible without blasphemy because the celebrant also ministers in persona ecclesiae, that is, he embodies the Church, which is itself transformed

into the body of Christ by the action of the Eucharist. Kabasilas, again, makes the equivalence of the Church with Christ's body explicit:

For here is no mere sharing of a name, or analogy by resemblance, but an identity of actuality. For the holy mysteries are the Body and Blood of Christ, which are to the Church true food and drink. When she partakes of them, she does not transform them into the human body, as we do with ordinary food, but she is changed into them, for the higher and divine element overcomes the earthly one.... If one could see the Church of Christ, insofar as she is united to him and shares in his sacred Body, one would see nothing other than the Body of the Lord.⁶¹

As we have seen, the Feast Cycle is the usual way the incarnate body of Christ is pictured. The garments of the celebrant thus clothe him both in the sacrificial body that Christ offers through his own highpriesthood and in the image of the Church transformed through participation in the sacrifice. They are, as Kabasilas affirms, identical. The depiction of the Feast Cycle on the vestments makes the celebrant an effectual icon of Christ and an embodiment of the Church, and, like them, a source of deifying grace.

The attachment of the Feast Cycle to the Christomimesis of the celebrant explains its presence both on bishops' vestments such as the sakkoi in Moscow and on vestments that demonstrably belonged to priests, such as the epitachelion of Peter the Skeuophylax now at the Great Lavra. The emphasis given to the role of the celebrant as an image of Christ seems to have outweighed completely the individual meanings assigned to the various insignia by commentators on the liturgy. We noted above that the deacon's orarion is the single Byzantine vestment that bears embroidered decoration corresponding to the symbolism the commentaries assign to it. It is the exception that proves the rule. The deacon's assisting role is consistently emphasized in the mystagogy of the liturgy and in symbolism that links the orarion with the wings of angels. Because deacons do not possess the capacity to celebrate the liturgy, they do not represent Christ, but rather the angels. The entirely different character of the embroidered decoration on the deacon's orarion demonstrates that where there is no ministry in persona Christi, there is no Feast Cycle embroidered on the vestments.

THE GREAT ENTRANCE: THE MAJOR SAKKOS OF PHOTIOS

Although the Byzantine commentaries on the liturgy stress that the

rite represents the entire incarnate life of Christ, they naturally place the greatest emphasis on the events of his passion, death, and resurrection.⁶² The mystagogy applies symbolic imagery associated with the actions leading up to Christ's crucifixion and burial particularly to the rites preparatory to the anaphora, namely the procession of the bread and wine and their deposition on the altar. This offertory action, the Great Entrance, even more than the anaphora and communion that followed it, stood in the popular imagination as the climax of the rite. Similarly, Byzantine and post-Byzantine images of the heavenly liturgy show it consistently in the guise of this procession, labelled simply, 'The Divine Liturgy' (~ Beta lle, .Tovpyia).⁶³ It is also the part of the liturgy with the most consistent symbolism assigned to it by the commentaries. The procession of the gifts to the altar almost inevitably recalled in the minds of authors on the liturgy the progress of Christ towards his passion, either in the entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday or the way to Golgotha on Good Friday. The deposition of the gifts on the altar, as early as the fourth century, evoked for Byzantine authors the burial of Christ in the tomb.⁶⁴ Such burial symbolism was canonized by the commentary of Germanos and repeated by subsequent authors.⁶⁵ This interpretation in turn became interwoven with the liturgy itself by the fourteenth century through the importation of segments of liturgical text into the Eucharistic rite from their original places in the ceremonies of Holy Week.⁶⁶ The troparion, a short hymn of a single stanza, entitled from its incipit 'Noble Joseph, is a case in point. In many liturgical manuscripts of this period, at the deposition of the bread and wine on the altar and their covering with the aer, the priest recites this text commemorating the burial of Christ:

Noble Joseph [of Arimathea] took down from the cross your most pure Body and wrapping it in a clean shroud with pure spices, carefully laid it in a new grave.⁶⁷

With the coexisting layers of symbolism evoking the triumphal entry of Palm Sunday, the arrest and leading away of Christ to his Crucifixion, and his burial in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, the anaphora itself-that is, the moment of the transformation of the gifts into the body and blood of Christ-naturally assumed the place of the resurrection.⁶⁸

In the previous chapter we noted the curious, non-chronological distribution of the images of the Feast Cycle on the Major Sakkos of Photios. One effect of this sequence is to concentrate on the front of the vestment a great number of scenes with Eucharistic associations:

the Annunciation, Crucifixion, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper and Washing of the Feet, the Resurrection, Christ Anapeson, and Christ in the Tomb (ch.2, fig. 2.8 [Plate 8]). Here-exceptionally-is a collection of images that maps almost one-to-one on to the traditional mystagogy of the Eucharist. The Annunciation and Christ Anapeson at the top combine the ideas of Incarnation and sacrifice combined in the prothesis ceremony and the texts used in its execution. The *Historia ecclesiastica* of Germanos summarizes the meaning of the actions from the Great Entrance procession to the recitation of the creed in this way:

Thus Christ is crucified, life is buried, the tomb is secured, the stone is sealed. In the company of the angelic powers, the priest approaches, standing no longer as on earth, but attending at the heavenly altar, before the altar of the throne of God, and he contemplates the great, ineffable, and unsearchable mystery of God. He gives thanks, proclaims the resurrection, and confirms the faith in the Holy Trinity. The angel wearing white approaches the stone of the tomb and rolls it away with his hand, pointing with his garment and exclaiming with an awed voice through the deacon, who proclaims the resurrection on the third day...69

The procession of the gifts is interpreted on two levels, as a parallel to the angelic worship of heaven (a meaning articulated in the Cherubikon hymn that is sung at the Great Entrance) and as a representation of Christ's sacrifice. The deposition and covering of the gifts on the altar represents his death and burial, while the recitation of the creed and the subsequent uncovering of the bread and wine by the deacon represents his resurrection. All this can be perfectly paralleled in the scenes embroidered on the front of the Major Sakkos. The two large crosses show the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ, the major poles of the liturgical exegesis. Between them are Christ's entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper. In the centre of the back is the image of Christ in the tomb, evoking the burial symbolism of the deposition of the gifts on the altar.

This central image is worthy of particular note. It shows the dead Christ, wrapped in burial clothes, under a baldachin with lamps (ch.2, fig. 2.20). The scene is inscribed «(Ir)aodc XpLU-ros, o €n-Lra~roc,a `Jesus Christ at (or upon) the tomb'. The use of the term epitaphios here is curious-we might reasonably expect the inscription to reflect more literally the depiction of Christ lying in a tomb. The use of the term epitaphios in conjunction with the image of the dead Christ unmistakably references the veil embroidered with the similar image

of Christ laid out for burial.⁷⁰ In the Byzantine period, this cloth was identical to the aer, the veil carried in the procession and used to cover the gifts.⁷¹ When the textile is adorned with the image of the dead Christ, it is known as the epitaphios.⁷² There is evidence for the existence of embroidered epitaphioi already in the twelfth century, although our earliest surviving examples date to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries.⁷³ A number of art historians have attempted to draw a distinction between the aer embroidered with Christ's body and the cloth used in the Orthodox liturgy of today for the reenactment of Christ's burial cortege in Holy Week.⁷⁴ No such distinction, however, seems to have existed in the Byzantine period.⁷⁵ The Byzantine sources are quite clear that the epitaphios/aer was used as a Eucharistic veil, despite its size and cumbersomeness. The patriarchal Diataxis of Gemistos the Deacon (c. 1380) states that the aer is held over the bread and wine by all the assisting clergy while the patriarch arranges the paten and chalices.⁷⁶ In paintings of the later fourteenth century and throughout the post-Byzantine period, frescoes representing the Great Entrance enacted by angels show them carrying the cloth with the image of the dead Christ.⁷⁷ The most compelling of all evidence, however, is the magnificent epitaphios of the early fourteenth century preserved in Thessalonike (see fig. 3.2).⁷⁸ Its central image of angels lamenting over the dead Christ is flanked by the two scenes of the Communion of the Apostles, leaving no doubt as to its Eucharistic function.



Fig. 3.2 Thessalonike epitaphios, early 14th century. Museum of Byzantine Civilization, Thessalonike. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

The inscriptions on surviving epitaphioi highlight two aspects of their use and symbolism. The troparia that are embroidered on to the borders of several of the epitaphioi are the same ones associated with the deposition of the gifts on the altar. The epitaphios of Nicholas

Eudaimonoioannes in London, for instance, bears the troparion Noble Joseph and a troparion of the resurrection, The Myrrh-Bearing Women (see fig. 3.3).⁷⁹ These verses make clear that the textiles were meant to be part of the web of symbolism surrounding the Great Entrance and the covering and uncovering of the gifts on the altar. Many of the surviving epitaphioi, in marked contrast to liturgical vestments, bear inscriptions pleading for the salvation of the donors. Hans Belting has remarked on the congruence of this practice with the custom of offering commemorations of the living and the departed during a pause in the Great Entrance procession.⁸⁰ The association of the decoration on the front of the Major Sakkos with the Great Entrance and the embroidered epitaphios carried in it helps to account for the placement of the portraits of the Byzantine and Muscovite rulers at the foot of this side, directly beneath the image of Christ's resurrection (see fig. 3.4).⁸¹ Their placement in such a context implies their commemoration in the procession of the bread and wine, an event that stands as a metonym for the Divine Liturgy as a whole.

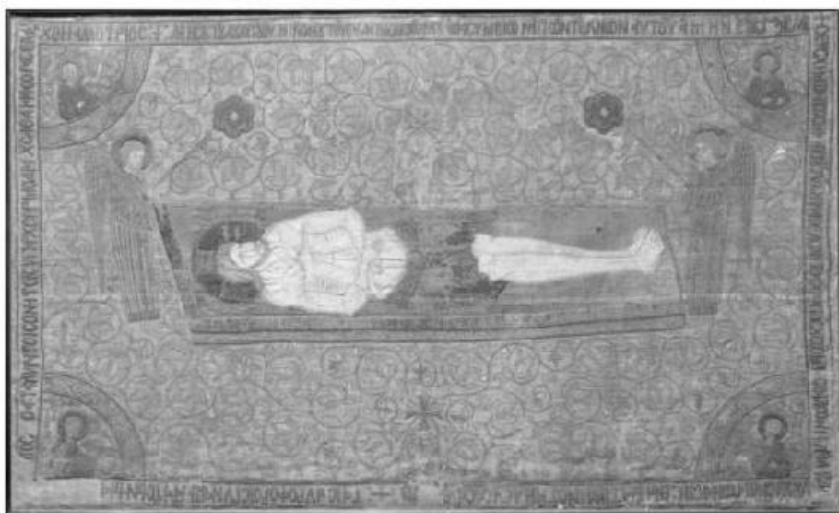


Fig. 3.3 Epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes, 1406-1407. Photo Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 3.4. John VIII Palaiologos and Anna, Grand Duke Basil I and Sophia, (detail of Major Sakkos of Photios), c. 1414-1417. Kremlin Armoury, Moscow. Photo by V. V. Blagov (2006) © State Historical and Cultural Museum-Preserve. 'The Moscow Kremlin'.

CONCLUSIONS

The embroidered decoration of holy scenes and figures on liturgical vestments operated on two levels within the liturgical setting of the church service. As we saw in Chapter II, the juxtapositions of images on textiles and images painted in the church were able on a more or less purely visual level to generate meanings that connected them to the liturgy. A second level of meaning is unlocked by the Byzantine tradition of mystagogical interpretation. For those versed in this symbolic mode of thought, the mystagogy of the liturgy would make the celebrant's sacramental role as minister in the place of Christ concretely visible.

The connections between the Feast Cycle and the liturgy would hardly be an esoteric exercise confined to an educated, clerical elite. Without suggesting that large numbers of the laity habitually read treatises on liturgical mystagogy, it is possible to infer from the influence of those interpretations on the text of the liturgy itself that the life of Christ symbolism of the rite would be evident to any attentive worshiper. The symbolism of the Great Entrance in

particular, with the audible chanting of the troparion Noble Joseph and the carrying of the epitaphios embroidered with the image of the dead Christ must have been as influential for fourteenth-century worshippers as for the nineteenth-century authors who found in it the heart of Orthodox worship.⁸² The programmes of images summarizing the life of Christ would have resonated with viewers trained by the cues of hymnody, ceremonial, and other images in the church to see in them a reflection of the liturgy's hidden meaning.⁸³ How many among the laity took the next interpretive step and linked the Feast Cycle on vestments with the celebrant's ministry in persona Christi is not a question that can be answered by the available evidence. The absence of these scenes from the insignia of deacons, who could not act as Eucharistic celebrants, at least demonstrates that the clergy understood the meaning of the cycle in relation to their ministry. By means of these embroidered images, priests and bishops made themselves into living representations of Christ as they reenacted his Incarnation, Sacrifice, and Resurrection through the celebration of the liturgy.

Part II

Liturgical Vestments in Byzantine Society

4

Earthly Rivalry: Imperial and Ecclesiastical Dress

The first chapter of this book demonstrated the pronounced development that Byzantine liturgical vestments underwent in the course of the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. The evolutionary changes in liturgical dress did not take place in isolation, however. Under the Komnenoi and the Palaiologoi, court costume was subject to the same sorts of inflationary pressures as transformed the vesture of the Church hierarchy. One of the most obvious factors shaping the later Byzantine court was the transfer of its physical setting from the Great Palace in the heart of Constantinople to the Blachernai Palace near the Land Walls on the western outskirts of the city at the end of the eleventh century. The court was thus physically distant from the patriarchal establishment at Hagia Sophia and from the commercial centre of the capital. Nevertheless, major state ceremonies, along with a skeleton crew of officials in residence, seem to have been maintained at the Great Palace even after the Komnenoi made the Blachernai their primary seat.¹ The most critical change affecting the court, however, was its make-up. The meritocracy of 'new men' that characterized the court of the Macedonian emperors gave way under the Komnenoi to a court dominated in its upper echelons by the members of a few powerful families related by blood or marriage to the imperial house.² Office at court became not just a personal achievement but a way of creating long-term family alliances with the ruling dynasty. The increasingly grandiose titles of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, marked by the inflationary prefixes proto-, pan-, and hyper-, show the pressure on the court for the creation of ever higher places of honour for those close to the throne. To judge from the Palaiologan sources, costume followed suit, being marked by an increasingly complex system of colours, materials, and decoration in order to differentiate courtiers by rank.

The increasing elaboration of liturgical vesture in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries took place against this political background. With the introduction of new liturgical insignia, clergy gained visible signs of their rank as well as their clerical order.

Embroidered decoration lent further hierarchical differentiation to the vestments of clergy and exalted the nature of their ministry. These developments placed the system of liturgical dress in dialogue with the costume of the imperial court. The term 'dialogue' perhaps implies a certain frankness of challenge and response. In fact, in good Byzantine fashion, the Church avoided engaging the court hierarchy and its symbols too directly. If we are to use a linguistic metaphor, we should rather say that the Church appropriated the vocabulary of hierarchical dress used in the imperial court and recombined it into a different syntax.³ As we shall see, the Church's adaptation of court dress was able to preserve the root sense of authority associated with the insignia without the syntactical links that bound them to the person of the emperor.

The study of dress in the imperial court across the period of the Komnenian and Palaiologan dynasties is faced with a number of formidable barriers.⁴ A gap of some four centuries separates the composition of the two ceremonial treatises that are the primary textual sources of information on costume. The former is the tenth century *Book of Ceremonies* (*De Ceremoniis*), compiled by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913-959), which is a kind of dossier containing a number of earlier documents supplemented with newly composed materials.⁵ Among the most important of its constituent parts is the *Kleterologion* of Philotheos, a book of court precedence of the late ninth century.⁶ The fourteenth century *De Officiis* of Pseudo-Kodinos is dated on internal evidence to the reign of John VI Kantakouzenos in Constantinople (1347-54) or shortly thereafter. Like its tenth-century predecessor, it gives information about court precedence and correct forms of address as well as descriptions of the ceremonies to be observed at court on an annual or occasional basis.⁷ The absence of intervening sources creates serious difficulties when discussing, for example, court dress of the twelfth century. A far more serious difficulty is presented by the correlation of almost a score of technical terms for costume in these texts with the mere handful of different garments we can distinguish in works of art. Valiant attempts have been made to disentangle the web of relationships between nomenclature and objects using the tools of art history, philology, and linguistics.⁸ This will not be such an essay. Rather, this chapter will concentrate on the most salient objects of the wardrobe of the emperor and his retainers, including their symbolism and decoration. Having gained a rudimentary understanding of the dynamics of Byzantine court costume, we shall attempt to unravel the connections and dialogue between the garments of the imperial court and the decorated liturgical vestments worn by the ecclesiastical

hierarchy.

THE COMPONENTS OF IMPERIAL DRESS

Byzantine art presents a deceptively uniform picture of the emperor's wardrobe. In the majority of imperial images from the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, the emperor wears a long, jewelled scarf, the *loros*, over a tunic, usually identified as the *divetesion*. On the other hand, the manuals of ceremonial from either end of this time, the tenth-century *De Ceremoniis* and the fourteenth-century *De Officiis* of Pseudo-Kodinos, prescribe multiple changes of costume for almost every imperial function. In fact, the 'standard' imperial outfit of *divetesion* and *loros*, despite its near ubiquity in imperial portraiture, was worn on only a handful of occasions during the year. *De Ceremoniis* mentions only two annual events, the Sundays of Easter and Pentecost, at which the *Toros* was the prescribed outer garment. The emperor also wore the *Toros* on certain occasions of state such as ambassadorial receptions, a choice that was no doubt motivated by its identifying role in official imperial portraiture.⁹ Yet more surprising is that the *Toros* was not exclusive to the emperor. At the palace Easter banquet, for instance, twelve imperial officials joined the emperor in wearing the *loros*.¹⁰ It was not the exclusivity of his garments alone that defined the person of the emperor. Rather, it was the regulated usage and combination of items of dress, together with their colour and decoration, that served to distinguish him in court ceremony. Worn along with regalia such as the crown and the distinctive red imperial shoes, these garments singled out the imperial personage on occasions of state.

Several of the possible combinations of imperial garments appear in the series of splendid full-page miniatures that open the manuscript of the Liturgical Homilies of John Chrysostom (Paris, BN ms Coislin 79), originally made for Michael VII and later repainted with likenesses of his successor Nikephoros III Botaneiates.¹¹ On the opening page (fol. 2r, see fig. 4.1.), the emperor is shown enthroned among four courtiers and flanked by personifications of the imperial virtues. As he would on most state occasions, the emperor wears a cloak, the *chlamys*, over a richly decorated tunic, the *divetesion*.¹² The *divetesion* is described as a long silk tunic of white or purple colour, often patterned and heavily embroidered with gold.¹³ The term evidently fell out of use by the fourteenth century, and it is replaced by the term *sakkos* in Palaiologan texts.¹⁴ The *chlamys* consists of a

richly decorated semi-circle of material, usually fastened by a clasp at the right shoulder, leaving the right arm exposed (for freedom of movement) and the left side of the torso draped.¹⁵ Often, as here, the chlamys is adorned with a contrasting patch of material, the *tablion*, applied near the neck. In Middle Byzantine art, the chlamys is a somewhat ambiguous signifier of rank, requiring the presence of other insignia to define it as an imperial attribute.¹⁶ In the Paris manuscript of Chrysostom's Homilies, the emperor appears in another introductory miniature in the company of St John Chrysostom and the Archangel Michael. This time the emperor wears a *skaramangion*, a riding costume ultimately derived from the Islamic *kaftan*, while the archangel Michael stands at his left in a *chlamys* (fol. 2v, see fig. 4.2.).¹⁷ The central placement of the emperor on a footstool marks him as the figure of primary importance, outweighing the *chlamys* worn by the archangel as a symbol of rank.¹⁸



Fig. 4.1. Nikephoros III Botaneiates enthroned with courtiers, c. 1078. Coislin 79, fol. 2r. Photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France.



Fig. 4.2. Nikephoros III Botaneiates between SS John Chrysostom and Michael. Coislin 79, fol. 2v. Photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France.

A third miniature in the manuscript (fol. 2bis v, see fig. 4.3) shows Nikephoros and his empress, Maria of Alania, with the floating halffigure of Christ touching their crowns. Here, in the most conventional of the three miniatures, the emperor appears in the diveteson and Toros. The latter is the most distinctive of the Byzantine imperial insignia, derived ultimately from the ornamental border of the toga picta worn by late Roman officials.¹⁹ To judge from its appearance in works of art, it was a richly jewelled, broad stole of about five metres in length, wrapped crosswise over the torso, with one end falling straight down in front and the other brought

around over the left arm. Despite the fact already noted that it was worn only a handful of times per year, the *Toros* appears with great consistency in images expressing the emperor's role as vicegerent of Christ, as on the ivory of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos in Moscow (see fig. 4.4.).²⁰ The *Toros* is not mentioned at all in the Palaiologan *De Officiis*, despite its [persistence in works of art](#).²¹ The fate of this term-and of the garment it represents-in the Late Byzantine period merits a brief excursus.



Fig. 4.3. Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Maria of Alania. Coislin 79, fol. 2bis v. Photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France.



Fig. 4.4. Constantine VII (r. 913-959) crowned by Christ, (ivory). State Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Photo: Bridgeman-Giraudon / Art Resource, NY.

The term *Toros* crops up in the twelfth-century writings of Theodore Balsamon, who quotes from and comments on a rather faulty Greek translation of the *Donation of Constantine*.²² Balsamon quotes directly from the list of insignia that Constantine supposedly made over to Pope Sylvester and his successors, listing among them:

both the diadem, that is the crown of our [i.e. Constantine's] head, as well as the *loros*, and the *omophorion* that encircles the imperial neck, together with the purple cloak and the crimson tunic ... and the rest of the ornaments of the imperial grandeur and the glory of our authority.²³

Curiously, the term *omophorion* is used for the visually similar imperial ensign, the *Toros*. Why, then, make separate mention of the *loros*? The ambiguity of the use of the word *Toros* itself in this passage is cleared up-but in an unexpected way-by Balsamon's commentary that follows:

Note that by this edict, that is, the command of St Constantine the Great, the Pope of Rome has the right to exalt himself by means of all the imperial privileges with the sole exception of the *stemma*; for on this account, both in his processions, wherever they should take place, and in his holy ministrations, he covers his head with the imperial *Toros* and he wears shoes of true purple and rides on horseback with true purple saddle and bridle just as the emperors do, and he bestows imperial honours on those under him.²⁴

While the *stemma*, the official imperial crown, is explicitly excluded, the *Toros* appears in this text as some sort of imperial headgear. A comparison with the Latin text of the *Donation of Constantine* reveals that *Toros* here glosses the Latin *frygium*, the emperor's Phrygian hat that appears as the ancestor of the papal tiara (cf. see Intro., fig. 0. 1).²⁵ *Lorum* in fact appears elsewhere in the Latin but is rendered as *omophorion* in the Greek translation. Balsamon perpetuates the same confusion in another text, for in listing the privileges of the see of Alexandria, he refers to the patriarch's mitre as a *loros*.²⁶ Curiously, there is an almost inverse exchange of terms in the fourteenth-century *De Officiis*. In speaking of the imperial garments, Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the imperial cincture, that is, the zone, 'which is now, as has been said, called a diadem (*diadema*)'.²⁷ Since he mentions the imperial crown only a couple of lines earlier, it cannot be that he means that the zone/diadema is a crown. By *diadema*, Pseudo-Kodinos must mean the *loros*, just as Balsamon writes '*loros*' when he means to indicate headgear.²⁸ So, despite the change of terminology for the

insignia used in the later Byzantine texts, it is clear that they continue to record the use of the imperial loros, just as it continues to appear in imperial portraiture of the period.

Although far less imposing than the loros, the imperial shoes were one of the most characteristic elements of the emperor's costume despite their relatively small size and inconspicuous position. The emperor's red, pearl-studded shoes stand out prominently against the blue of his suppedium on fol. 2r of Paris MS Coislin 79 (above, fig. 4.1).²⁹ Such buskins of red or purple silk are most likely of eastern origin. The sixth-century chronicle of Malalas describes Justin I's coronation of Tzathe, Emperor of Lazika on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, who was vested in Byzantine garb save for his shoes, which 'he had brought from his own country, and they were studded with pearls in Persian fashion'.³⁰ Byzantine sources indicate that the shoes of red or purple silk were among the chief signs of imperial rank. According to Skylitzes, they betrayed the identity of Emperor Leo V when he was spying by night on the imprisoned Michael the Amorian.³¹ The Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes' history illustrates the episode with the body of the murdered Leo being carried out into the hippodrome. The illuminator has shown him still wearing the *Toros* and with his crown rather improbably adhering to his head, but the deceased emperor has been deprived of his former attributes of the halo and red shoes.³²

The use of special imperial shoes continued into the Palaiologan period. Pseudo-Kodinos describes in detail the ceremonial shoes of the emperor:

There is also another form of shoes, which are called *tzangia*, having eagles made of stones and pearls upon the sides against the legs and on the flat of the foot, and which the emperor wears for processions and at the ceremonies of audience

Among the several surviving portraits of Palaiologan emperors, none allows us to distinguish the ornament of eagles on the red shoes. We do, however, have an image of the family of Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria wearing eagle-ornamented buskins, obviously in imitation of the Byzantine imperial model.³⁴ Furthermore, in certain portraits of Late Byzantine emperors, the subjects' footstool is ornamented with eagles, as seen on a chrysobull of Andronikos II dated 1301.³⁵

Even more than the *Toros* or the red shoes, the imperial crown, or *stemma*, was the preeminent symbol of power. Both painting and

coinage show that the form of the primary imperial crown underwent a major transformation under the Komnenian dynasty. The earlier form, as seen in the images of Nikephoros III Botaneiates in Paris, MS Coislin 79, consists of a high, annular diadem, adorned with pendants, or prependicularia, of pearls.³⁶ The form the crown assumes in the twelfth century is described by Anna Komnene in the *Alexiad*:

For the Imperial diadem encircles the head, just like a hemispherical circlet, and is ornamented on every side with pearls and stones, of which some are encrusted and others stand out. To either side of the temples there hang down certain strings of pearls and stones which touch the cheeks. And this is the distinctive item of the imperial costume. For the crowns of sebastocrators and of caesars also have a scattering of pearls and stones, but they lack the spherical element.³⁷



Fig. 4.5. John VI Kantakouzenos as emperor and as the monk Joasaph. Theological works of John Kantakouzenos, c. 1347-1354. MS gr.1242, fol. 123v. Photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France.

The hemispherical crown described by Anna Komnene is widespread in imperial art of the twelfth through fifteenth centuries.³⁸ Such a crown appears in the mosaics of John II Komnenos and his son Alexios in the South Gallery of Hagia Sophia (c. 1118 and 1122, respectively).³⁹ In the Palaiologan period, the domical form of the crown is accentuated so that it takes on a bulbous profile. This form of the

stemma is to be seen clearly in the famous double portrait of John VI Kantakouzenos as emperor and as monk in the manuscript of his theological works (see fig. 4.5.).⁴⁰

SYMBOLISM OF THE IMPERIAL COSTUME

Despite the detail in which the Byzantine ceremonial manuals *De Ceremoniis* and *De Officiis* prescribe the dress of the emperor and his courtiers at various functions, they are disappointingly laconic about the symbolism attached to the imperial wardrobe. The most exalted view of imperial costume comes from the pen of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, who asserts-or rather instructs his son and heir to assert-that the imperial robes and diadems were delivered to Constantine the Great by the hands of an angel. Because of their status as *acheiropoietoi*, objects not made by human hands, they could not be lent or given to others.⁴¹ Constantine VII's high view of the insignia continues in his explanation of their symbolism in *De Ceremoniis*, according to which the *Toros* symbolizes the burial clothes of Christ and his glorious resurrection:

We deem the magistrates' and patricians' wearing of *loroi* on the festal day of the resurrection of Christ our God to be a type of his burial, while their being gilded is for the brilliance of this day, beaming sunlight as from the sun of Christ himself when he rose. And they, both the magistrates and the patricians, we deem to act as types of the apostles, and the worthy emperor to correspond, inasmuch as it is possible, to God. Wherefore also the [garments] called in the common speech *skepaia* have as their purpose to typify the symbols of victory, which will be reckoned in accordance with the rising of Christ from the dead and as a symbolic representation of the cross, through which Christ set up a trophy against Hell.⁴²

Apart from its historical symbolism, the *Toros* is able to express, to Constantine's mind, the analogy of the court officials with the apostles and that of the emperor with God. The fact that, from a historical point of view, the courtiers are merely reverting to late antique consular dress on a day of great liturgical solemnity (the famous 'Baumstark's law' of liturgical archaisms) is hardly relevant to Constantine's purposes.⁴³ He goes on to describe the other insignia of the emperor, the silk handkerchief full of earth, called *anexikakia*, and the buskins on his feet, as representing respectively the teaching of Christ to his disciples and his death and resurrection.⁴⁴ In short, the imperial garments symbolically express specific aspects of the emperor's role as the image of Christ. Just as in the case of liturgical

vestments, the symbolism operates both on an historical level (remembrance of Christ's death and resurrection) and on a typological level (the emperor as the image of God, the officials as types of the apostles). All the symbolic claims made later for the bishop's relationship to Christ are already implicit in this tenth-century description of the emperor's costume.

In contrast, the symbolism accorded to the imperial insignia some four centuries later by Pseudo-Kodinos is essentially secular in nature. The regalia reflect the attributes of imperial power itself rather than its divine origins:

The emperor carries a cross to show thereby his faith in Christ; by the crown he shows his rank; by his cincture [i.e. the *loros*], which is now, as has been said, called a diadem, he shows himself to be a soldier; by the dark colour of his *sakkos* he shows the mystery of kingship, through the [pouch of] earth, which is called *akakia*, as we have said, he shows that the emperor is humble (inasmuch as he is mortal, and not given to be vain or arrogant because of the elevation of royalty); by the handkerchief he shows the instability of kingship and its passing from one to another; by the sword he shows his supreme authority.⁴⁵

Whereas *De Ceremoniis* likened the emperor to Christ through his costume, the author of the Palaiologan treatise sees the regalia as tokens of the imperial virtues: faith, bravery, lordship, humility. The emphasis on the transient nature of imperial authority is especially striking, even if a note of realism in a text composed amid the drawn out civil wars of the fourteenth century. Granted that four hundred years separate Pseudo-Kodinos from Constantine VII, his approach to the symbolism of imperial costume nevertheless marks a startling change from the confident imperial ideology of the tenth century.

COSTUME OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY AND COURTIER

The dress of the imperial family and court had to satisfy several functional requirements. It had to distinguish visually the members of the court from those outside, it had to differentiate courtiers from the emperor himself, and it had to allow the organization and distinction by rank of the holders of scores of different offices. To these ends, Palaiologan court dress used the colour, materials, and quality of decoration to distinguish the costume of one office from another. Further differentiation was provided through shoes, headgear, and staves of office. Costume facilitated the marshalling of large numbers of officials for ceremonies that called for the strict observance of

protocol. We learn from Pseudo-Kodinos, for example, that the order in which courtiers left imperial receptions on feast days was determined by the colour and decoration of their headgear.⁴⁶ Like liturgical vestments, then, the costume of courtiers operated in a ritual setting that defined their function and service within the court of the emperor.

The highest ranks of the hierarchy beneath the emperor himself—despots, sebastokrators, and caesars—were accorded many of the titles and attributes associated with the imperial office. The titles of despot and sebastokrator were created by the Komnenoi as offices for their sons and relatives.⁴⁷ Alexios I officially demoted the ancient office of caesar, making it junior to the sebastokrator, an office he created for his brother Isaac Komnenos in the late eleventh century.⁴⁸ The office of sebastokrator was typically held by close blood-relations of the emperor, and, from the thirteenth century, by the husbands of women of the imperial family. The costume of a sebastokrator consisted of a highly decorated tunic, red in colour, worn with the diadem of a Caesar—a flat band with a small arch at the front. He was also entitled to a red and gold hat with a broad brim, the *skiadion*. On feast days, he wore a *skaranikon*, a high, cylindrical hat, ornamented with pearls and precious stones.⁴⁹ His shoes were blue, matching the colour of the ink with which he was entitled to sign documents and of the cord with which he affixed his

Under the Palaiologoi, the title of sebastokrator was in turn devalued in favour of that of despotes, which was preferred for the emperor's brothers and sons.⁵¹ The emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282) apparently had some difficulty in negotiating the offices and insignia of two of his sons, Constantine and Andronikos. Having already granted the right of wearing red shoes to his younger son, Constantine, he had to take the politically awkward step of degrading Constantine's rank and costume upon the coronation of the elder son, Andronikos II, as co-emperor—a promotion symbolized by the right to wear the imperial red shoes.⁵² Constantine received instead shoes of mixed purple and white silk fabric, adorned with eagles in pearls—the footwear of a despot.⁵³ The rank of caesar, although the oldest of the three highest titles at court, was junior to the rank of sebastokrator. By the fourteenth century, its use was primarily as an honourific title for foreign princes.⁵⁴ Since Pseudo Kodinos professes ignorance as to the appearance of the *skaranikon* of the Caesar or the sebastokrator, we can safely assume that the dignitaries simply were not present for the imperial ceremonies of the capital where these insignia would be worn.⁵⁵ The fact that these officials generally remained away from

the court in Constantinople also helps to explain the identical costume of the sebastokrator and Caesar, even down to the blue shoes; had they been present together in the same place, their identical uniforms would doubtless have caused embarrassment.⁵⁶

While the three highest titles—despot, sebastokrator, and Caesar—usually functioned as offices for the close relations or allies of the emperor, the duties of running the imperial court and its ceremonial fell upon the high officials in the ranks below that of Caesar. The most senior of these were the *megas domestikos*, *panhypersebastos*, *protovestiarios*, and *megas doux*.⁵⁷ The *panhypersebastos* and *protovestiarios* wore colour-coded shoes, yellow and green, respectively, distinguishing them from sebastokrator and Caesar who wore blue shoes.⁵⁸ The first four of these officials were entitled to wear a hat, the *skaranikon*, with portraits of the emperor in front and in back flanked by angels, all within circles of The headgear with the imperial portrait worn by these officials is in striking contrast to the aniconic crowns and *skaranika* of their superiors. Whereas for the despot, sebastokrator, and Caesar, their dependence on the emperor for their power is implicit, for these courtiers it is spelled out through the image they wear.

The pattern for the remaining imperial retainers is set by the costume of the *megas doux*, or Grand Duke, the title for the commander of the imperial fleet. He has a gold-embroidered red *skiadon* without a veil, and a *skaranikon* with a portrait of the emperor in front, standing, and a second portrait on the back of the emperor enthroned. He wears a silk *caftan*, the *kabbadion*, and carries a *dikanikion*, or staff of office, ornamented with gold knops.⁶⁰ The portrait image of Alexios Apokaukos (r1345) in a volume of the works of Hippocrates illustrates the costume of such a courtier (see fig. 4.6).⁶¹ He wears a belted *caftan* with long, close-fitting sleeves, presumably the *kabbadion* of the texts. It is of a bronze colour, bearing an all-over design in purple of addorsed griffins within roundels. On his head he wears a *skaranikon*. Above a diadem of gold and pearls, three plaques of gold show in front, each with a complex, lobed profile outlined in pearls. The central plaque bears a portrait of a seated emperor.⁶² Above the plaques rises a domed red calotte.⁶³ Most of the other officers of the court wear a similar costume, making the necessary changes in the degree of ornament or the colour of the tunic and headgear.

The subtlety of the changes in costume by rank at court becomes apparent through a perusal of the family portraits in the Lincoln

College Typikon (Oxford, Lincoln College ms. gr. 35). In this charter for the nunnery of Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople, the various male relatives of the convent's patroness Theodora Palaiologina Synadene are shown in the costume of the offices they occupied in the imperial court.⁶⁴ The most senior official, the sebastokrator Constantine Palaiologos, the younger half-brother of emperor Michael VIII,⁶⁵ appears dressed in a red tunic with foliate ornament in gold, over which he wears a brown mantle bearing golden double-headed eagles in medallions (see fig. 4.7 [Plate 14]).⁶⁶ On his head he wears a diadem with a front-to-back arch-the stephanos of sebastokrators and caesars as defined by Anna Komnene.⁶⁷ The remaining high officials are variously distinguished by the changing colour of their tunics (red, apricot, and green), the embroidery of their skaranika with imperial portraits, or the total absence of headgear. The megas stratopedarches John Synadenos, for instance, wears a red tunic and a gold skaranikon with the imperial portrait (see fig. 4.8 [Plate 15]).⁶⁸ The slightly lower-ranking Protosebastos Constantine Raoul wears an identical costume save that his tunic is green rather than red.⁶⁹ One intriguing characteristic of the manuscript is that, while the costumes depicted in the miniatures logically reflect the hierarchical positions of the wearer as described in lists of precedence, they do not match the details given by Pseudo-Kodinos. The illustrations may be the sole surviving evidence of a slightly older organization of the court costume than that recorded in the texts.⁷⁰ Furthermore, despite the ostensible focus of the manuscript on the women of the Palaiologan house, there is minimal variety in their costume. All of the female figures wear two-part dresses with high necks and flaring sleeves, bearing foliate patterns in red and gold.⁷¹ Their dress conveys only elite status, not specific official rank.



Fig. 4.6. Megas Doux Alexios Apokaukos. Works of Hippocrates, 1341-1345. MS gr. 2144, fol.1 ir. Photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France.



Fig. 4.7. Sebastokrator Constantine Palaiologos. Typikon of the nunnery of Bebaia Elpis, early 14th century. MS gr. 35, fol. 1v. Photo © Lincoln College, Oxford.



Fig. 4.8. Megas Stratopedarches John Synadenos. MS gr. 35, fol. 2r.
Photo Lincoln College, Oxford.

THE DECORATION OF COURT COSTUME

The most powerful and direct mark of investiture with authority on the emperor's behalf is the imperial portrait. The use of images of powerful persons on the clothing of officials is a custom that can be traced back to Late Antiquity. Ivory dyptichs show consuls and empresses wearing imperial portraits as an element of their regalia. The diptych in the Musee de Cluny in Paris of Areobindus, consul at

Constantinople in the year 506, shows him wearing a toga picta depicting standing figures holding sceptres.⁷² On two panels, one in Florence and another in Vienna, an empress, probably Ariadne, wears a chlamys with a tablion portrait of an emperor, who may be either of her successive husbands, Zeno or Anastasius (see fig. 4.9.).⁷³ Such insignia could be used symbolically to extend the emperor's sovereignty beyond the political borders of the empire. John Malalas reports the use of such garments in the investiture of the Emperor of the Laz by Justin I. The Byzantine emperor sponsored the foreign potentate's baptism, married him to a patrician woman named Valeriana, and sent him back to his home country in regalia bearing the imperial portrait:

He wore the Roman imperial crown and a white chlamys of pure silk, having in lieu of the purple tablion an imperial golden tablion in the middle of which there was a small, true [purple] bust bearing the likeness of the same emperor Justin, and also a white tunic, a paragaudes, itself having golden imperial embroideries, similarly bearing the likeness of the same emperor.⁷⁴ While the crown and the robes worn by the emperor of the Laz are indicative of his rule, the portraits of the Byzantine emperor that he bears on his clothing implicitly limit the sovereignty of the wearer. By symbolically subjecting the wearer to the theoretical universal sovereignty of the emperor in Constantinople, such images help to mediate between the Byzantines' political theory of 'One God, one Christ, one emperor' and the reality of multiple kingdoms beyond their borders. The practice continued into the Middle Byzantine period with the donation of imperial portrait silks to Western rulers, a symbolic gesture asserting the recipient's subservience to the emperor in Constantinople.⁷⁵ Although we lack hard textual evidence, it seems only likely that such use of the imperial image abroad mirrored its use in Constantinople itself as a mark of courtiers' allegiance to and source of authority in the emperor.⁷⁶



Fig. 4.9. A Byzantine empress (probably Ariadne) wearing a chlamys with a figural tablion, (ivory plaque), 5th century. Museo Nazionale del Bargello Florence. Photo: Resource, NY.

The practice of using imperial portraits as a mark of delegated authority was regularized and codified in the Late Byzantine skaranikon. If the general purpose of court vesture is to symbolize the wearer's position vis-d-vis the emperor, then no garment does this quite as prominently or explicitly as the skaranikon (see fig. 4.10). A hat, after all, stands out in a crowd, making it easy to discern the groups of retainers surrounding the emperor on occasions of state. The skaranikon also served a functional role in grouping the court officials into classes. The very highest members of the imperial echelon, despots, sebastokrators, and caesars, wore skaranika ornamented with pearls and embroidery, but not, apparently, the imperial portrait. The first forty-five ranks of retainers, from the Megas Domestikos down to the Protoierakarios, wear a gold skaranikon with the imperial portrait; below the Logothetes ton agelon, the officials wear red skaranika without portraits." The Logothetes ton agelon himself has no skaranikon, and, as Pseudo-Kodinos notes, his office represents a sort of caesura marking the division between the upper and the lower classes of courtiers.⁷⁸



Fig. 4.10. Courtiers wearing skaranika, fresco, 1390-1391. Church Councils, Monastic Church, Cozia. Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE, Paris, No. Inventaire 25317.

The seeming exoticism of the headdress, incidentally, is not simply a

distortion produced by our contemporary, orientalist prejudices. Pseudo-Kodinos permits himself an excursus on the history of the skaranikon, describing its transmission from the Assyrians to the Persians through the conquests of Cyrus, and thence through Alexander the Great to the Roman Empire.⁷⁹ The remarkable (and spurious) pedigree ascribed to the insignia was doubtless occasioned by its striking form and prominence. Whatever its true origins, the introduction of the skaranikon in the ceremonial of the Palaiologan court set the stage for the elaboration of liturgical headgear in the fourteenth century.

HIERARCHICAL DIFFERENTIATION IN ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS

We have already seen that, up to the eleventh century, the vestments of Byzantine clergy distinguished them only according to their order—bishop, priest, or deacon—not their rank in the organization of the Church. Looking at an image of a bishop from the ninth or tenth centuries, it would be impossible to tell without knowing the biography of the man depicted whether he had been a patriarch, a metropolitan, or a simple diocesan bishop. It was only in the later centuries of the empire that the introduction of new vestments differentiated prelates by their rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As vestments like the polystaurion and sakkos came into use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the patriarch was able to distinguish himself from archbishops and metropolitans. As the privileged vestments slowly trickled down the ranks of prelates, metropolitans were able, in turn, to distinguish themselves from their suffragans. A mitre for the patriarch, first attested in the fourteenth century, added another ensign of prestige to the highest ecclesiastical office. In the fifteenth-century fresco depicting the Council of Chalcedon in the church of SS Peter and Paul at Turnovo in Bulgaria, mitres distinguish the assembled Orthodox patriarchs from their fellow bishops, who also wear liturgical vestments but are bare-headed (ch.1, fig. 1.9). Pope Leo, the patriarch of Rome, wears the two-pointed mitre of the medieval West, while the other four patriarchs wear headgear of domical profile.⁸⁰ One can visualize the hierarchical relationships among the clergy at a glance, something that would not have been possible either in art or in reality before the twelfth century. On the other hand, the followers of Patriarch Dioskourous of Alexandria, condemned by the council, wear mitres of their own—perhaps a sign of ataxia, the lack of good order that often marks heretics in Byzantine art.⁸¹

With the increasing differentiation of the higher clergy by rank, the

formerly simple, three-tiered system of liturgical dress gave way to one resembling the code of court dress in its complexity. In part, this phenomenon reflects the greater number of prelates resident in Constantinople in the Late Byzantine period. With the loss to the Turks of important bishoprics in Asia Minor, the number of major prelates in the capital multiplied greatly over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, despite sporadic attempts to send them back to attend to their abandoned sees.⁸² Furthermore, the Patriarch of Constantinople was seldom the only prelate of patriarchal rank resident in the city. Theodore Balsamon himself was elected Patriarch of Antioch, although he never left Constantinople. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the patriarch's function at certain imperial ceremonies could be filled by the Patriarch of Alexandria, or of Antioch, or of Jerusalem, should the Patriarch of Constantinople not be available.⁸³

The multiplication of major prelates in Late Byzantine Constantinople and their ceremonial appearances created parallels with the imperial court. When the Patriarch of Constantinople made formal appearances with his bishops, the visual impact of his entourage must have been comparable to that of the emperor surrounded by his retainers.⁸⁴ The frescoes of Church Councils at Turnovo and Cozia can give us a picture of the patriarch surrounded by his clergy at official functions.⁸⁵ From the capital itself, our evidence is sparser. Among the survivors is the striking image of John VI Kantakouzenos presiding over the Church Council of 1351, which ruled in favour of the Hesychast party led by Gregory Palamas and favoured by the emperor and his allies (see fig. 4.11 [Plate The emperor, here in a manuscript of his own theological works, looms large in the midst of the four Orthodox patriarchs and assembled monastics and singers. The image harks back to the eleventh-century image of the enthroned Nikephoros III Botaniates flanked by his courtiers. The miniature projects an ideal of imperial dominion over the patriarchal office as over the retainers of the court, but it is belied by the reality of conflict and even open warfare against the incumbent of the patriarchate that Kantakouzenos records in his own memoirs. The spectacle of actual ecclesiastical ceremonial must have been quite different, with the patriarch himself at centre stage, surrounded by an impressive retinue of clergy.

Alongside the transformation of the patriarchate into an institution resembling a second court in Constantinople, the Palaiologan period witnessed the growth of a patriarchal ideology with unprecedented claims to universal authority. The canonical interpretations of

Theodore Balsamon in the twelfth century emphasize the special character and privileges of the patriarchate, granting to the Patriarch of Constantinople those rights formerly given to the Roman Papacy, including the right of final appeal in cases of ecclesiastical law.⁸⁷ Under the Palaiologoi, patriarchs and their spokesmen claimed the right of universal appeal not only within Byzantine territory but in all Orthodox lands. Patriarch Antonios IV, for example, wrote in 1393 to the Bishop of Novgorod, urging his submission to the titular Metropolitan of Kiev resident in Moscow: "For I am the universal judge of the oikoumene, and every aggrieved Christian has recourse to me and receives his restitution!" Among such pretensions to quasi-papal status, it would be logical to expect the patriarchate to adopt visible signs of commensurate prestige. The patriarchs and bishops found such modes for the distinction of their rank near at hand, among the garments of the imperial court.



Fig. 4.11. John VI Kantakouzenos with clergy at the Council of 1351. MS gr. 1242, fol. 5v. Photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France.

EPISCOPAL VESTMENTS DERIVED FROM THE IMPERIAL SPHERE

We have already considered briefly the passage from the *Histories* of John Kantakouzenos in which he describes the dress of Patriarch John XIV Kalekas. The text is a critical one for our purposes, and well worth quoting again. The event described, it will be recalled, was the coronation of the young John V Palaiologos in 1341, one of the opening developments of the hugely destructive Byzantine civil war of 1341-1347. Kalekas had assumed the regency for John V in opposition

to the intention of John Kantakouzenos to rule in the name of the heir.⁸⁹ Against the background of their antagonism, Kantakouzenos, who was well informed in the affairs of the Church, would have been keenly sensitive to any self-aggrandizing peculiarities in the dress of Patriarch John XIV Kalekas:

The patriarch, since he was not able to change his rank, put on a rather more august habit, and in his signatures he was accustomed to use a sky-blue colour, and he adorned the kalyptra upon his head (which is customary for the patriarchs to wear if they are not from the class of monks, made of white linen folded up in front) with gold, having the engraved images of Christ our Savior, and of his immaculate Mother the Theotokos, and John the Baptist.⁹⁰

To paraphrase, the patriarch wore a sort of hat of white linen cloth (as opposed, presumably, to the black hat he would have worn had he been a monk) bearing gold-embroidered images of the deesis on its front part. This text is perhaps the only contemporary record of the reaction of an Orthodox believer to figurally embroidered vestments worn by clergy of his own church. As such, it is invaluable as a confirmation that the newer ecclesiastical vestments could be seen-at least by a suspicious eye-as competing with the insignia of the court.

Although the existence of a mitre in the Byzantine rite before 1453 has long been doubted, Kantakouzenos is not the only witness to the existence of patriarchal headgear in the fourteenth century. The fresco of the Serbian Archbishop Sava in the patriarchal church at Pee, dating to c. 1380, confirms that such a headdress resembled hats worn in the imperial court (see ch.1, fig. 1.7). The tall, slightly flaring form of Sava's headgear combines the shape of a certain hat worn by Late Byzantine courtiers with the figural ornamentation of the skaranikon.⁹² Furthermore, its decoration of pearls and stones recalls the jewelled skaranikon of the despot, and, like a despot, his regalia are purple.⁹³ The parallel between court and ecclesiastical headgear is made very clear in another fresco of c. 1345 in the church of St Demetrius at Pee, where the archbishops Joanikije and Sava flank the figures of Stefan Dusan and Milutin Uros (see fig. 4.12). Dusan wears a long-sleeved tunic, an elaborately wrapped loros, and a gilt headdress with flaring sides and applied gems. Joanikije, who stands to his right, wears a dull-red headdress, a white omophorion, and a sakkos with gilt figures (perhaps apostles) within a vine-scroll.⁹⁴ The parallels between the highly ornamented tunics, long scarves, and high headdresses of the secular and religious leaders is striking. The fresco, of course, had a special function for the dynastic leadership of

fourteenth-century Serbia, since the Nemanja family was founder both of the Serbian Church and of the ruling dynasty.⁹⁵ The parallelism between the dress of the archbishops and the kings in the image emphasizes their close cooperation in building the Serbian state.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the similarities must also have been present in the dress of patriarch and emperors in Constantinople. The appearance of the Byzantine emperor in sakkos and Toros must have been strikingly close to the appearance of an archbishop or patriarch in sakkos and omorphorion. In Byzantium itself, however, the occasional tensions between the two powers would have given these visual parallels a more ambivalent meaning.



Fig. 4.12. Nemanjic kings and archbishops, fresco, c. 1354. Church of St Demetrius, Patriarchate, Pee. Photo courtesy of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia-Belgrade.

Textual evidence also offers some indication that Byzantine authors considered the headgear of patriarchs to be in the same category as that of imperial officials. Again, Kantakouzenos' text is informative, for he links the patriarch's adoption of images on his kalyptra to his desire for a more exalted state. This same word, kalyptra, which in classical Greek refers to a veil, is generally used by Late Byzantine

authors for the headgear of secular potentates. Pachymeres, for instance, in describing the renunciation by John Palaiologos, brother of Emperor Michael VIII, of his prerogatives as despot, lists his 'his headdress [kalyptra] ornamented with pearls' among items of costume that he removed.⁹⁷ The exceptional usage of the term is the famous passage in Doukas, describing the sentiments of the anti-Latin party in Constantinople: 'It would be better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in the midst of the city than the Latin mitre'.⁹⁸ This sentence has traditionally been read as displaying sentiments against the Western Church and its hierarchy. Diether Reinsch has recently questioned the way the passage is usually translated, in particular the rendering of kalyptra as 'mitre'. The normal use of the word in Byzantine texts is, in fact, for the headgear of rulers, not bishops. He suggests that Doukas is not referring to bishops at all, but to the Angevin princes anxious to reclaim the former Latin Empire of Constantinople.⁹⁹ Although the kalyptra worn by Patriarch John Kalekas must have been essentially liturgical in nature, Kantakouzeos' use of a term with connotations of secular power fits with his critique of the patriarch's ambitions to govern the empire.

The decoration of the mitre worn by Patriarch John XIV Kalekas also paralleled the skaranikon of the imperial court in its decoration. The imperial portrait, sometimes flanked by angels, adorning the skaranikon symbolizes that the bearer both derives his power from the emperor and is subject to him.¹⁰⁰ The account of John Kantakouzenos tells us that the patriarch wore the image of Christ flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist on his headdress. In examining the use of the deesis on liturgical vestments, we have already seen that its primary meaning in this context is anagogical, representing Christ's presence among the order of heaven while also present in the Eucharist on earth. This sense of the image is also stressed by its application to headgear, with Christ represented as the universal sovereign from whom the patriarch's authority derives. The mitre worn by St Sava at Pec comes still closer to courtly models, for on it Christ's image is flanked by busts of angels just as the imperial image is framed on the skaranika of high officials. In this case, the bust of Christ directly substitutes for the imperial portrait. The iconography of the headgear makes explicit what one supporter of Patriarch Arsenios of Constantinople had written decades before, that the Church has 'Christ as its head and the patriarch as his image'.¹⁰¹ Implicitly, the hierarchy of the Church was claiming a more direct and privileged source of its authority in the person of Christ than the officials of the court enjoyed through the mediation of the emperor.

Returning to the quotation from Kantakouzenos, what was the more august habit' that the patriarch made a practice of wearing? Kantakouzenos may have been referring to the sakkos, now the liturgical vestment par excellence of Orthodox bishops, but still a relatively recent innovation in the fourteenth century. The origin of the garment, like that of the mitre, must be traced to the dress of the imperial court, but in this case to the costume of the emperor himself. No liturgical vestment analogous to the sakkos existed in Byzantium before the twelfth century, and the possibility of such a T-shaped garment evolving from the conical cut of the phelonion is remote. It is equally unlikely that the Byzantine clergy borrowed the similarly-shaped dalmatic from the Latin rite. Even though bishops in the West wore the dalmatic beneath the chasuble to signify their diaconal as well as pontifical role,¹⁰² those elements of Western medieval episcopal dress that differed from Byzantine usage come in for harsh criticism in the lists of Latin errors.¹⁰³ The model closest at hand for the patriarchal sakkos must have been the divetesion, the outer tunic of the Byzantine emperors. As we noted above, this garment appears in Palaiologan texts of imperial ritual as the sakkos, the same name it has in the ecclesiastical sphere.¹⁰⁴

The question remains of the means by which this garment was transferred from the imperial to the patriarchal wardrobe, whether as a direct conferral by the emperor on favoured prelates or a simple act of usurpation by the episcopate. ¹⁰⁵ The former route, imperial donation of insignia to bishops in the manner of the Donation of Constantine, appears sporadically in the sources. The textual evidence for imperial donation of the sakkos to bishops is very thin, however, and what exists is of questionable authenticity. A lost chrysobull of 1082/3 from Alexios I Komnenos supposedly gave the right to wear the sakkos to the bishop of Lakedaimonia in the Peloponnese.¹⁰⁶ The fact that the putative date of the document precedes by a century the first secure mention of the sakkos as a patriarchal vestment should make its authenticity suspect. Andronikos II Palaiologos was also said to have conferred the sakkos on another Peloponnesian bishop, the Metropolitan of Monembasia by a chrysobull of June 1301, but that document, too, may be a later The alternative to direct imperial conferral of the sakkos is its assumption by the clergy on their own initiative. Although this could hardly have been done in outright defiance of imperial opposition, it is possible that the Byzantine Church could invent such a tradition in a moment of ascendancy without exciting imperial censure. We should also keep in mind that relatively few of the imperial garments were in practice restricted to the emperor alone. The extravagant claims of Constantine VII

Porphyrogegnetos for the imperial garments as divinely conferred achiropoieta having fallen into desuetude, the imitation of the emperor's tunic by the patriarch might not have excited much opposition or even notice apart from the circumstances of the political conflict between Kantakouzenos and the patriarch. Patriarch John XIV Kalekas—who was a notable opponent of Hesychasm as well as political rival to Kantakouzenos—was not a monk but a former member of the palatine clergy,¹⁰⁸ who would have previously been entitled only to wear the phelonion. Despite the ample evidence that the sakkos was already in use by the patriarchs before him, the political enemies of John Kalekas would have been sensitive to the implicit bid for higher status conveyed by his wearing of the vestment.

In the context of his comments about the patriarch's dress, Kantakouzenos' observation that the patriarch habitually used blue ink in his signatures attains surprising significance. Blue was the normal colour for the signature of the sebastokrator in the Palaiologan period.¹⁰⁹ Within the upper ranks whose costume is described by Pseudo-Kodinos, the colour of the official's signature corresponds to elements of his costume. The emperor, for example, has red shoes and a vermilion signature; the despot, who wears shoes of mixed purple and white threads, signs documents with purple ink, and so on.¹¹⁰ The normal colour for patriarchal signatures is black, but a preserved act in the patriarchal registry shows the grounds for Kantakouzenos' complaint. The act of deposition of Isidore, bishop of Monemvasia, dated 4 November 1344, bears the signature of John XIV Kalekas in blue ink." The blue signature would be a mere curiosity were it not for the fact that Kantakouzenos links it with the patriarch's political ambitions.

Considering the established link between ink colour and dress, the preponderance of blue sakkoi among the preserved examples is striking. Along with the three figural sakkoi in the Vatican and the Kremlin, the aniconic sakkoi of Metropolitan Peter of Moscow (1322) and Metropolitan Aleksei of Moscow (1364) are all blue.,¹² Among the handful of depictions of Byzantine prelates wearing the sakkos, a fifteenth century fresco in the nave of St Demetrios in Thessalonike shows St Gregory Palamas wearing a sky-blue sakkos with gold crosses in circles (see fig. 4.13 [Plate 17]).¹¹³ The colour blue has no particular liturgical significance in the Byzantine rite, which never developed a system of seasonal colours to match the medieval development of the Latin rite. The consistency with which blue appears on the surviving sakkoi points instead to the imperial court and its colour symbolism of

Although we have no record that Kalekas donned the blue shoes of a sebastokrator to correspond with his signature, his choice of a 'political' ink colour for his signature must have recalled a famous precedent in Byzantine history. Michael Keroularios, the powerful patriarch of Constantinople from 1043 to 1058, famously stepped over the line in his defiance of Emperor Isaac Komnenos by donning purple shoes. The continuator of Skylitzes' history recorded that Keroularios wore shoes of purple colour and attributed to him the provocative remark that 'the difference between priesthood and kingship is little or nothing'.¹¹⁶ Later Byzantine commentators saw the patriarch's sartorial innovations as a claim on equality with the pope, who, according to the spurious Donation of Constantine, enjoyed the right to wear the imperial garments of purple and The patriarch who faced excommunication from the Old Rome would have been anxious to uphold the equality of the New Rome."¹¹⁷ Whatever Keroularios' motivation, it put him into direct confrontation with the emperor. As Balsamon observed a century and a half later, 'Because the second Council [Constantinople I, 381] gave to the archbishop of Constantinople all the privileges of the Pope of Rome, certain of the patriarchs, such as Michael Keroularios, attempted to glorify themselves with [Rome's] privileges; the attempt did not turn out well for them.'¹¹⁹ Keroularios' condemnation and death in captivity must have served as a deterrent to individual efforts by later patriarchs to claim imperial insignia. What the memory of Keroularios did not prevent, however, was the slow and steady institutional formation of an idea of the patriarchal dignity that eventually allowed men without the personal charisma of a Keroularios or a Photios to claim attributes of equally exalted status. Late Byzantine patriarchs did not attempt to wear the imperial red shoes, but they were able to pass on to their successors and subordinates a sartorial vocabulary nearly equal in its implied claims to authority.



Fig. 4.13. St. Gregory Palamas wearing the sakkos, fresco. Church of St Demetrios, Thessalonike. Photo: Svetlana Tomekovic.

Despite the borrowings of insignia and significant colours from the

hierarchy of the imperial court, the insignia employed by Late Byzantine prelates do not replicate those of the emperor nor those of any other member of his retinue. Whereas a direct borrowing of imperial regalia in the manner of Michael Keroularios might have provoked accusations of lese majeste, the aping of the ensemble of any other rank at court would have amounted to acceptance of subaltern status on the part of the hierarchs of the Church. The patriarchal garments of the late period avoid both of these hazards by combining elements from the costume of various ranks at court. While the sakkos is an imperial garment, the blue colour of most of the surviving examples is connected not with the emperor, but with the sebastokrator. Similarly, the skaranikon with the imperial portrait, adapted for the mitre of the clergy, belongs not to the emperor but to his retainers. By borrowing elements from the costume of the emperor and of various ranks of courtiers, Byzantine prelates were able to use these forms of dress as expressions of exalted rank without being pinned down to any particular point on the imperial hierarchy. To fully understand the extent of their accomplishment, we will need to look beyond the imperial court of Constantinople to the court of the emperor of heaven, which exercised its sway in the realm of art.

As it is in Heaven: Vesture and the Unseen World

Up to this point, we have been discussing the interconnections between the hierarchies of the imperial court and of the Church as they are encoded in costume. Their interaction did not form a simple, binary system, however. A third hierarchy, the heavenly one headed by Christ, was ever present in art and imagination. This celestial hierarchy could and did mirror the hierarchies of earthly institutions. One has only to think of the paired works of the Pseudo-Dionysios, *The Celestial Hierarchies* and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchies*, to see the ideological possibilities of pairing the earthly order with a heavenly counterpart. The Pseudo-Dionysian corpus is attributed to the sixth century, but it was not until the eleventh and twelfth centuries that explicit parallels between the earthly Church and the heavenly realm were made explicit through the iconography of Church art.² Although the identities of the patrons, designers, and artists who created these images more often than not elude us, their role in translating this mode of thinking into visual terms was of critical importance. Art became the medium by which the earthly Church and the heavenly hierarchy, the seen and unseen worlds, were linked one to another. Costume, as we shall see, played a pivotal role in drawing the connections between earthly figures and their heavenly counterparts. It is through dress—both actual and depicted—that the pairing of the heavenly hierarchy with the liturgy of the Church came to prevail over the earlier parallels between the imperial court and the heavenly court of Christ.

THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE

In the Middle Byzantine period, imperial art and religious iconography combined to present the emperor and his court as visible counterparts to the invisible court of Christ and his angels and saints in heaven.³ Henry Maguire has demonstrated how costume, both what was worn by actual members of the court and what was represented in works of art, helped to articulate parallels between the earthly and heavenly hierarchies as well as their fundamental distinction.⁴ The emperor, as

head of the earthly empire and oikoumene, was the functional equivalent of Christ on earth. As Michael Psellos put it in an oration to Constantine IX Monomachos, 'What the Creator is in relation to you, this you may be in relation to us.' The notion of the court as parallel to the hierarchy of heaven is also reflected in Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos' comments, cited in the previous chapter, on the wearing of the Toros by twelve patricians at Easter: the courtiers fulfil the role of the apostles, while the emperor, their head, corresponds to God himself.⁶ The functional equivalence between the emperor and Christ is stressed quite clearly in written sources, whether ritual manuals or panegyric.⁷ The approach to the emperor's cosmic rank encountered in the visual arts, however, is somewhat less straightforward. In art, the emperor resembles not Christ,⁸ but the archangels who, like the emperor, wear the diveteson and Toros as their standard apparel.

Works of art depicting the emperor in the company of angels show that the two hierarchies, the heavenly and the imperial, could interpenetrate. One of the famous frontispiece images in the manuscript of the Homilies of St John Chrysostom in Paris show the emperor, labelled Nikephoros III Botaneiates, in the company of St John Chrysostom and the Archangel Michael (see Ch.4, The Psalms may have declared that God made man 'a little lower than the angels',¹⁰ but the artist of the miniature has shown the emperor a little higher than the archangels, for he occupies the position of honour in the centre of the leaf and is supported on a prominent footstool. Here the archangel, despite his shoes of imperial red, wears the chlamys rather than the loros, perhaps deliberately blurring his status relative to the emperor. The archangel further takes on the ceremonial role of a courtier vis-a-vis the emperor, for he presents the prostrate scribe (the tiny figure beside the imperial footstool) to him, just as one of the court eunuchs would have presented

A parallel to this image is found on a small ivory now in Berlin, which depicts the emperor Leo VI with the Virgin and St Michael the Archangel (see fig. 5.1). Long described as the head of a sceptre, it has recently been identified as a ceremonial comb.¹² The architectural background indicates the interior of Hagia Sophia, that is, an earthly realm in which the emperor would have made public appearances. Both Leo and St Michael wear the loros, and they flank the central figure of the Virgin. The emperor, however, is accorded a position of greater honour than the archangel, for he is at the Virgin's right, and she turns to add a pearl or gem to his crown. Furthermore, the group of Leo VI, the Virgin, and St Michael is mirrored on the reverse side of

the ivory by the trio of St Peter, Christ, and St Paul (see fig. 5.2). The juxtaposition of the figures on the two major faces of the ivory situates Leo almost on a par with Christ and the princes of the Apostles. The architectural space is the same, but in contrast to the emperor and archangel, Christ and his companions wear antique dress. This last fact, as we shall see, marks a crucial distinction.



Fig. 5.1. Leo VI with the Virgin and St Michael (ivory). Berlin, BodeMuseum. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Resource, NY.



Fig. 5.2. Christ between SS Peter and Paul, (ivory). Berlin, Bode-Museum. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY.

Where Christ and the emperor appear together, it is Christ's costume that sets him apart. The famous ivory in the Cabinet des Medailles of Christ crowning Emperor Romanos II and Eudokia shows the imperial couple in imperial dress (see fig. 5.3).¹³ All three figures have haloes, although Christ's nimbus is of course distinguished by its inscribed cross. The emperor wears the *Toros* in the simplified manner, while his wife Eudokia wears hers tucked up into her belt in a manner characteristic for empresses. Christ, who stands head and shoulders above the imperial couple with the help of a remarkably architectural footstool, wears the usual antique dress. This ancient Greek costume of *chiton* and *himation* appears consistently as Christ's clothing in

Middle Byzantine art. Because no living persons were wearing antique dress in medieval Byzantium, Christ's garments render him semantically neutral, outside the bounds of earthly hierarchies of costume.¹⁴ Even when the emperor and Christ are presented as flip sides of the same coin, as in the tenth-century ivory diptych now housed between Dumbarton Oaks and the Schlossmuseum in Gotha (see fig. 5.4),¹⁵ the antique dress of Christ ensures that juxtaposition never becomes tautology.



Fig. 5.3. Romanos II (r. 959-963) and Eudokia crowned by Christ, (ivory). Cabinet des Medailles. Photo: Bibliotheque nationale de France.

The iconography of Christ, the emperor, and the angels in Middle Byzantine art creates a distinction between the emperor's position in

the earthly hierarchy and in the heavenly. Put another way, the emperor's functional equivalence to Christ on earth is overruled in heaven by the incommensurability of Christ's divinity. The emperor may function symbolically as an icon of Christ, but the likeness is limited by their difference of dress. Instead, the emperor resembles the archangels, Christ's own servitors, who share with him the attribute of the *loros*.¹⁶ The association of emperors with angels was given much scope for rhetorical elaboration under Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195) and his successors, who appeared on their coins standing side by side with the Archangel In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, emperors were even occasionally depicted on their coins with angel's wings (see fig. 5.5).¹⁸ The relationship between the emperor and Christ, then, is an oblique one. Art presented the earthly court as an image of the court of heaven, but it remained a dissimilar image, drawing attention to the gap between the emperor's divinely ordained authority and the universal and eternal sovereignty of Christ the Pantokrator.





Fig. 5.4. Crosses with busts of an emperor and Christ, (ivory diptych), 10th century. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington (left), and Schlossmuseum, Gotha (right). Photo © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC.



Fig. 5.5. Winged emperor, coin of Michael VIII, mint of Thessalonike (reverse). Photo courtesy of Julian Baker, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

THE PALAIOLOGAN TRANSFORMATION

Even while the system of images that equated the emperor with the angels was at the height of its development, the seeds of a rival image of the court of heaven were taking root in the art of the Church.

Byzantine theology, from the earliest times, held that the bishop represented Christ in the liturgy. In our discussion of liturgical mystagogy, we have seen that the bishop's functioning as the representative of Christ in the liturgy easily shaded over into being a representation of Christ.¹⁹ The decoration of liturgical vestments—particularly the sakkos worn by major prelates—with the image of Christ and scenes from the festal cycle cemented this identification of the bishop's liturgical role with that of Christ. Physical juxtaposition of the bishop with Christ's image in the icons and frescoes of the church interior further strengthened the

theological identification of the bishop with Christ. Just as the depiction of dress helps to set up a series of reciprocal relationships in Middle Byzantine art between the emperor's court and the court of heaven, so the art of the Church in the Late Byzantine period used costume to link the bishop with Christ and to visualize heaven as a celestial liturgy conducted in perpetuity by its There is a critical difference between the two systems, however; whereas Middle Byzantine art presents the emperor as the functional equivalent to Christ but dissimilar in his appearance, the images in ecclesiastical art of the Palaiologan period tied the patriarchs and bishops to Christ both in terms of function and of likeness.

This phenomenon is seen most clearly in images visualizing the chief function of the clergy, the celebration of the Eucharist. The theme of the Communion of the Apostles was established as a fixture of Byzantine monumental painting by the eleventh century.²¹ In images of the subject, Christ himself appears in the role of a priest, administering the bread and wine to his apostles as though to a group of assisting clergy. The Apostles' role in the images is made explicit by the manner in which they receive communion. By the eleventh century, if not earlier, the Byzantine laity were given the sacrament by intinction, receiving a mixture of bread and wine administered with a spoon. The clergy, on the other hand, like the Apostles in the paintings, continued to receive the two Eucharistic species separately.²² The setting, too, matches the contemporary experience of a Byzantine church. Christ is depicted standing at an altar furnished with a canopy and vessels that would be familiar to a medieval beholder, and he is joined by angels vested as deacons, who perform the role of his assistants in the liturgy. Beginning in the early fourteenth century, representations of the Communion of the Apostles begin to feature Christ dressed in the sakkos and omophorion of a Byzantine patriarch, making his high-priestly role in the scene still more explicit (see fig. 5.6).²³ The earliest examples, at St Nicholas Orphanos and at St Nikita in Cucer, date to the second decade of the fourteenth century.²⁴

Like the connection between the bishop and Christ, the symbolic link between deacons and angels was one long established in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. In the liturgy, deacons function as intermediaries or messengers (literally, *angeloi*) between the people in the nave and the priest hidden behind the sanctuary barrier. The deacon's role is that of a liturgical master of ceremonies, coordinating the prayers of the people outside the sanctuary with the actions of the priest within. As we have mentioned before, the gestures made by the

deacon with his orarion, meant to call attention to important liturgical actions, were associated with the motion of angels' wings.²⁵ Angels appear as assisting deacons in the earliest depictions of the Communion of the Apostles, such as the apse mosaics of St Sofia in Kiev and the frescoes of the St Sofia at Ochrid (see fig. 5.7).²⁶ The inscription 'holy, holy, holy' on the oraria of deacons in painting and mosaic of the fourteenth century confirms their association with angels, since the Sanctus hymn itself-based on the prophet's vision of the seraphim in Isaiah 6: 3-was attributed to the angels as their perpetual chant.²⁷ Although no orarion has survived from the Byzantine period,²⁸ the decoration of post-Byzantine examples further elaborates the conjunction of the ministries of deacons and angels. A Walachian orarion of the deacon Radivoie (dated 1533) conserved at the Iviron Monastery on Mt. Athos presents an especially full complement of images. Aside from the six-winged seraph in the centre of the band, all the other angels are in postures of adoration and service. Some, clothed in phelonia, function as angel-priests; they bow over the chalice they hold in both hands. Others wear the sticharion and orarion, and carry patens on their heads while dangling a censer from the right hand. The word *hagios*, holy, appears between the panels, transliterated into Slavonic characters.³⁰ The orarion explicitly links the actions of the deacon who wears it in the liturgy to those of the angels as they assist the Eucharist as it is perpetually celebrated in heaven.

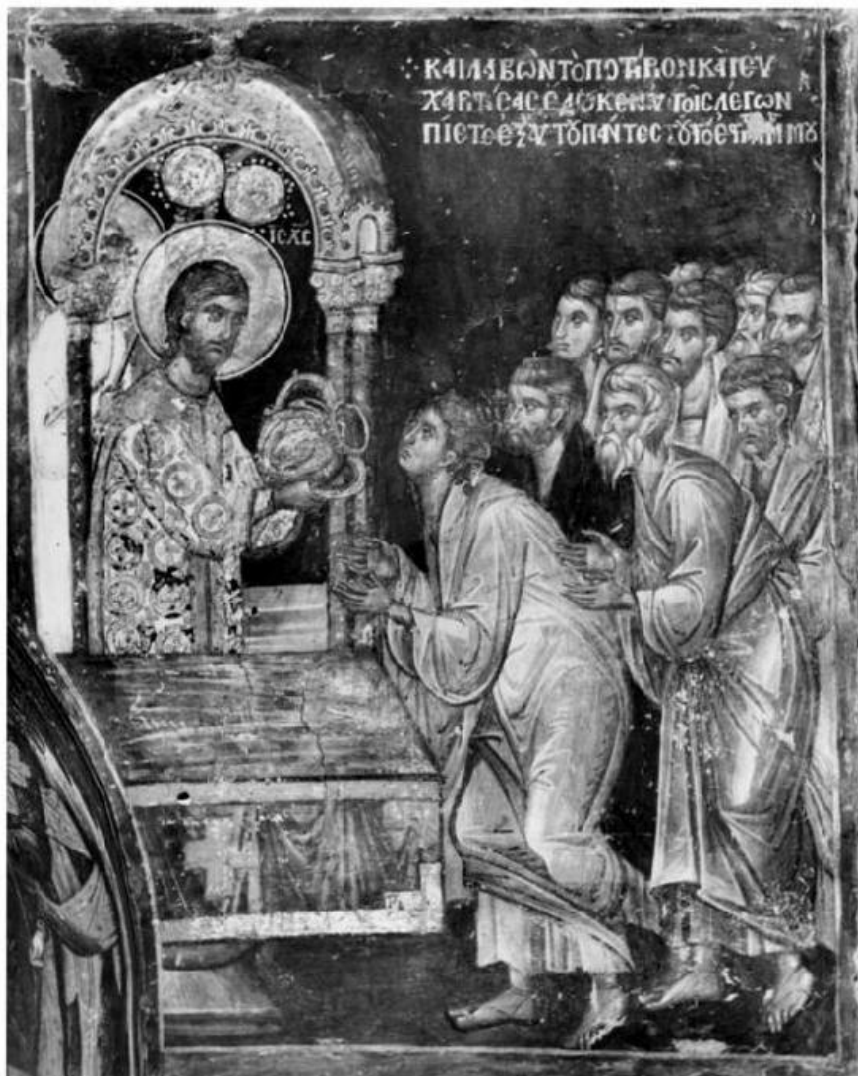


Fig. 5.6. Christ Wearing patriarchal sakkos, Communion of the Apostles, fresco, early 14th century. St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike. From Xyngopoulos, *Toichographies tou Hagiou Nikolaou*, fig. 73.



Fig. 5.7. Deacon Angels. Communion of the Apostles, fresco, 11th century. St Sophia, Ochrid. Photo: Svetlana Tomekovic.

With Christ appearing in monumental painting as a bishop and angels as deacons, a heavenly hierarchy directly mirroring the ecclesiastical hierarchy—both in function and in image-took shape in the Byzantine imagination. In certain paintings of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as at the Peribleptos in Mistra, the parallel was carried still further by the depiction of angel-priests as assisting clergy in the heavenly liturgy represented in the frescoes (see fig. 5.9.).³¹ Nor was the subject of the heavenly liturgy confined to wall painting.³² The decoration of epitaphioi, notably the early fourteenth century Thessalonike Epitaphios, features angels in diaconal dress as assistants both at the Communion of the Apostles and at the symbolically rendered sacrifice of Christ represented by his dead body (see fig. 5.10 [Plate 18] and ch. 3, fig. 3.2).³³ Perhaps the most dramatic example of the parallel between the earthly and heavenly liturgies is the iconostasis curtain of 1399 from Chilandar Monastery on Mt. Athos (see fig. 5.11.).³⁴ There, Christ appears as a patriarch in sakkos and omophorion, assisted by the two great liturgists SS Basil and John Chrysostom. The pose of the two saints echoes that prescribed for the assisting bishops at a patriarchal liturgy, who stood on either side of the patriarch between the altar and the holy doors to greet the Great Entrance procession.³⁵ Angels act as deacons, waving flabella behind them. In contrast to most painted scenes of the Celestial Liturgy, there is no altar depicted on the textile, which would have hung in the central opening of the iconostasis. When the curtain

was drawn aside at the Great Entrance and at the Communion, it would have revealed the earthly celebrant standing in Christ's place at the altar table. Although the ostensible function of an iconostasis curtain is to conceal the mysteries of the altar from the profane eyes of the laity, the Chilandar curtain lays bare the meaning of what it hides. Its imagery shows the true ministrant of the Eucharist to be Christ, whose presence is concealed under the bodily appearance of the celebrating bishop.



Fig. 5.8. Orarion of the Deacon Radivoe, 1533. Monastery of Iviron, Mt. Athos. From Millet, *Broderies*, pl. CII.



Fig. 5.9. Angels vested as priests and deacons. The Divine Liturgy, fresco, c. 1370s. Church of the Peribleptos, Mistra. Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE, Paris, cote B 11.



Fig. 5.10. Deacon Angels, (detail of the Thessalonike epitaphios). Photo: Werner Forman / Art Resource, NY.

Just as the imagery on liturgical veils conveyed the sacramental reality hidden in the material forms of the bread and wine they covered, the images worn by the clergy on their vestments conveyed the sacramental ministry of Christ through the person of the celebrant.³⁶ It was thus inevitable that the motif of Christ as High Priest would eventually find its way on to vestments. An early fifteenth-century epitachelion from Chilandar Monastery has embroidered on its neck the image of Christ vested as a bishop in sakkos and omophorion (see fig. 5.12).³⁷ The subject of the stole is the Great Deesis, with the figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist joined by the Apostles Peter and Paul and six bishop saints. As we have already observed, Symeon of Thessalonike interpreted the Great Deesis as a model of the cosmic order through the depiction of Christ among his saints in heaven.³⁸ By clothing Christ in episcopal dress, the entire composition is assimilated to the vision of heaven as a mirror of the Church on earth. The iconography insists not just on the resemblance of the bishop to Christ, but on their equivalence. Even the diction of the Late Byzantine period would have drawn attention to the connection between the image of Christ in episcopal dress and the bishop wearing the vestments. Liturgical writings of this period consistently refer to the bishop not as episkopos, the normal biblical and patristic word for bishop, but as archiereus, that is, a high priest.³⁹ The latter term is used consistently of the high-priesthood of Jesus Christ in theological writings, most notably throughout the *Epistle to the Hebrews*.⁴⁰ Through this shift in vocabulary, Christ's role as High Priest is fully identified, both in text and in image, with the role of the bishop.

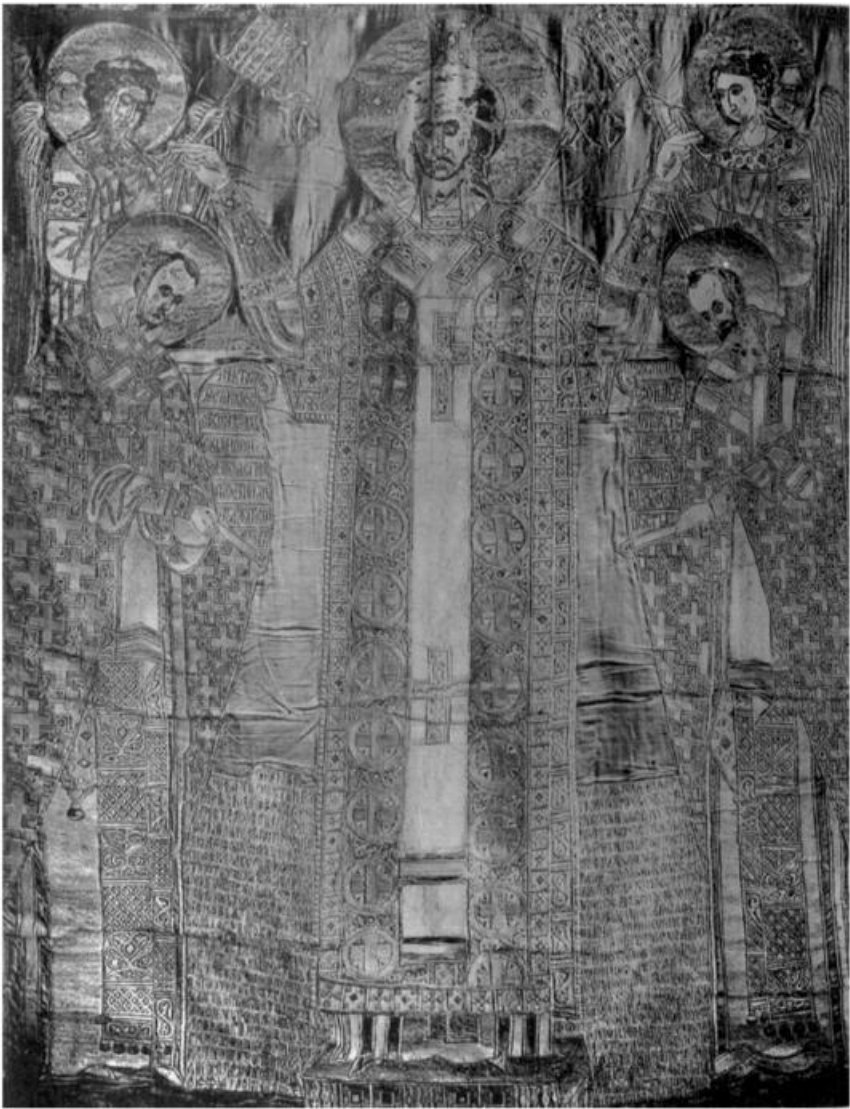


Fig. 5.11. Christ as High Priest with SS Basil and John Chrysostom, (iconostasis curtain), 1399. Chilandar Monastery, Mt. Athos. From Millet, *Broderies*, pl. CLIX.

A sizeable group of post-Byzantine Ottoman textiles show repeated roundels with Christ as High Priest, clad in the sakkos, omophorion, and mitre, and blessing with both hands (see fig. 5.13).⁴¹ These fabrics were almost certainly woven for use in liturgical vestments, and similar textiles may already have been in production at Bursa prior to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.⁴² The pattern of images in circles functions much like the repeated crosses that decorate the

sakkoi and polystauria worn by Christ or sainted bishops in monumental painting.⁴³ Unlike the earlier embroidered vestments, on which the image of Christ as High Priest was a discrete motif among many, these expanses of repeating images would have been clearly visible to the most casual observer, inviting comparisons with other images of Christ in the church interior. Already, by the first decades of the fourteenth century, the depiction of Christ dressed in episcopal vestments in monumental painting complemented the bishop's wearing of Christ's image on his garments. Embroidered liturgical vestments present the clergy as the image of Christ, but they do so by triangulation: the clergy wear vestments that represent Christ and his life as shown in the frescoes and mosaics of the church interior, while those same frescoes at times show Christ in the vestments of a bishop. At other times, as in the case of the iconostasis curtain from Chilandar, the physical juxtaposition with the image identifies the celebrant as a stand-in for Christ. Whereas the earlier, embroidered vestments require the visual context of the church for their meaning to be fully realized, the post-Byzantine textiles with the motif of Christ as high priest need only to be put on for their message to be made clear. They are thus self-sufficient, containing within the single juxtaposition of human wearer and woven image the connections made earlier through a whole web of cross-references between textiles, painted images, and the human celebrants of the liturgy. The depiction of Christ vested as a bishop on textiles worn by the clergy effectively closes this circle of mutual references, showing Christ and the celebrating bishop to be, in a sacramental sense, identical.



Fig. 5.12. Christ as patriarch deesis with holy bishops, (detail of epitrachelion), 15th century. Chilandar Monastery, Mt. Athos. From Millet, *Broderies*, pl. L/LITI.



Fig. 5.13. Christ as patriarch, (vestment fragment of Ottoman silk and metallic twill), c. 1500. Photo © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC.

Although the iconographic system identifying the episcopate with Christ and the assisting clergy with the angels was a comprehensive one, it should not be assumed that the older system of imperial references died away. The archangels continue to appear in *loroi* in late Byzantine and post-Byzantine art, often in the same contexts as angels in liturgical dress. Ceremonial rivalry between the court and the Church was not a zero-sum game, at least in Palaiologan Constantinople. Imperial ceremonial continued to employ religious paraphernalia, such as banners with images of saints, that had marked imperial processions before 1204.⁴⁴ The elaboration of mimetic ceremonial in the fourteenth century under the influence of the Jerusalem *typikon* affected the emperor's observance of major feasts of the Church year just as it did the observances in the cathedrals and monasteries.⁴⁵ On Maundy Thursday, for instance, Pseudo-Kodinos specifies that the emperor washed the feet of twelve of the poor in imitation of Christ's washing the feet of his disciples.⁴⁶ This exercise, performed earlier in cathedral and monastic churches by the bishop or superior, was appropriated for the ritual of the court. The emperor's mimetic action of footwashing, however, took place within the relatively isolated setting of the palace, and the clergy who participated were his own palatine chaplains. It is only when the emperor entered the more public ecclesiastical sphere, the patriarchal church of Hagia Sophia in particular, that the otherwise ambiguous changes in his status were brought to light.

THE EMPEROR IN THE CHURCH

Despite the alleged 'caesaropapism' of the Byzantine emperor, his actual liturgical function was highly circumscribed.⁴⁷ On the occasions documented in *De Ceremoniis* when the emperor attended the Divine Liturgy at Hagia Sophia, he enjoyed several privileges not available to laymen. Not only was he allowed to enter through the central doors of the narthex with his retinue, he had the privilege of entering the sanctuary to kiss and cense the altar. These actions were normally restricted to clergy in the major orders of bishop, priest, or deacon. On the other hand, the emperor spent most of the duration of the liturgy outside the sanctuary, with the laity. Like deacons and priests, he communicated separately in bread and wine, but, like the laity, he received communion adjacent to, not within, the sanctuary.⁴⁸ The array of mixed signals sent by the emperor's liturgical actions seems quite deliberate, for it accords a quasi-sacerdotal charisma to the emperor without defining a fully priestly role for him.⁴⁹ One might even go so far as to claim that the very ambiguity of the emperor's status in the church helped to preserve his

symphonia with the patriarch.⁵⁰ The 'joined but equal' status of the emperor and patriarch dictated that the emperor refrain from any action or change of vesture that might identify him as directly subordinate to the patriarch. By taking on a liturgical role that was neither clearly clerical nor lay, the emperor avoided upsetting the ideological balance between the temporal and spiritual powers.

In the Palaiologan period, this carefully constructed ambiguity began to give way to a more defined imperial role within the Church. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the emperor had a specific rank in the hierarchy of the Great Church: the office of depotatos ('deputy').⁵¹ The depotoi were ecclesiastical officials analogous to acolytes, who served in the nave of Hagia Sophia. The coronation ordo of Manuel II specifies that, at the time of the Great Entrance, the depotatoi put a golden mantle on the shoulders of the emperor.⁵² We learn from Symeon of Thessalonike that this is, in fact, the mantle proper to the depotatos, indicating the ecclesiastical prerogatives and responsibilities of the emperor:

On top of the imperial vestments, a holy vestment is also put on, which belongs to the depotatos, signifying the good order and the reverence and the peace he ought to show towards the Church. And still further, he holds a sceptre-not a heavy and hard one, but light and gentle-for the sake of education in gentleness and not wrathful and destructive, nor yet beating and destroying.⁵³

The heading and context of the chapter indicate that Symeon is describing a garment generally worn by the emperor at ecclesiastical functions and not only at his coronation.⁵⁴ The placing of the 'holy vestment' over the emperor's imperial regalia signifies the suppression of his might within the bounds of the Church. Clothed in the mantle of the depotatos, he becomes the subordinate, not the equal, of the patriarch. The very humility of the order the emperor assumes within the church is surprising. Depotatoi ranked consistently low on lists of ecclesiastical precedence, generally between the fortieth and the fiftieth rank. Furthermore, individuals were ordained to this office outside the sanctuary, indicating that they were in minor rather than major orders.⁵⁵ Fourteenth-century sources attest that the emperors continued to enjoy the ecclesiastical prerogatives of earlier centuries, such as the right to enter the sanctuary and cense the altar and to receive the Eucharistic bread and wine separately, like the clergy, but only on the day of their coronation.⁵⁶ Pseudo-Kodinos explicitly mentions that the former custom of the emperor censing the altar at vespers on Easter is no longer operative.⁵⁷ By the late fourteenth

century, the imperial prerogatives in the church were deemed tenuous enough that emperors appealed to the synod for renewed confirmation of their traditional ecclesiastical. The placement of the mantle of the depotatos upon the emperor's shoulders, therefore, was part of a wider pattern of resistance to imperial pretensions to sacerdotal status.

The costume for the emperor in church ritual is even more dramatically manipulated in the diataxis for the imperial ritual on the Sunday of the Holy Cross (the third Sunday of Lent), recorded in a manuscript of 1437.⁵⁹ After Great Vespers on Saturday evening, the emperor and the patriarch go in procession from Hagia Sophia to the Palace chapel of the treasury (presumably the church of St Stephen) in which the reliquary of the True Cross was housed.⁶⁰ Their progress is marked by insignia both imperial and liturgical: banners and liturgical fans accompany them, while a double file of soldiers bear *ing spears* dip them in homage as the procession passes by. At the chapel, the emperor retrieves the relic and it is borne in its reliquary by both emperor and patriarch for the return journey to Hagia Sophia.⁶¹ The procession seems a clear articulation of the ideology of symphonia between the emperor and the patriarch, who hold the precious burden between them on their way from the palace to the Great Church, where they deposit it on the altar. The next morning, the emperor returns with his entourage, entering Hagia Sophia from the atrium towards the end of the Kanon of Matins (orthros), where he is greeted with acclamations from the choir. He venerates the icons and takes his seat on his throne. The patriarch enters the church in the same way, accompanied by his metropolitans. They too venerate the icons and, after blessing the people, take their seats in the sanctuary.⁶² Again, the parallel entrances of the emperor and patriarch stress their symphonia and complementary functions.

The preparations for the veneration of the cross begin after the Great Doxology (the Gloria in excelsis), which completes the office of Lauds in the Byzantine rite. The emperor descends from his throne and enters the sanctuary. There the emperor, who does not wear his crown, puts on a sticharion and orarion. That is to say, the emperor dresses as a deacon before participating in the rite of veneration by carrying the relic to its position in the solea. The text of the diataxis even specifies that the emperor carries the relic upon his head, thus paralleling the posture of the deacons in the Great Entrance rite, in which they carry the veiled paten upon their heads.⁶³ Whereas, according to Pseudo-Kodinos and Symeon of Thessalonike, the mantle of the depotatos was put on over the usual imperial regalia, the sticharion and orarion must have replaced all the outer robes of state

for the occasion. The office of deacon certainly outranks that of depotatos, but the unambiguous assumption of clerical dress, namely, that of the lowest of the three major orders, places firm limits on the scope of the emperor's priestly charisma.

We have already seen how the emperor was associated with the angels in Middle Byzantine art, since he shared his attributes of the Toros and diveteson with the archangels Michael and Gabriel. The vesting of the emperor as a deacon maintains his association with the angels, but it integrates him into a completely different conception of their hierarchy. By appearing in a church ceremony dressed in sticharion and orarion, the emperor appears like the angels in Late Byzantine liturgical art, whose role is to serve Christ the great High Priest. Whereas in the Middle Byzantine period, the emperor's visual assimilation to the angels was accompanied by a functional parallelism to Christ himself, Palaiologan art makes the bishop or patriarch both the functional and the visual stand-in for Christ. The very same claims to angelic rank that exalted the emperor in Middle Byzantine society seem to have been adopted by the Church and used to place him in a rank decidedly second to the bishop. Whether or not the ceremony ever took place precisely as described in the diataxis, the change of imperial costume constituted a brilliant symbolic move on the part of the unknown church official who drafted the ritual: it preserved the emperor's accustomed quasi-sacerdotal privileges while depriving him of the cloak of ambiguity that earlier surrounded his participation in the liturgy. If we take the diataxis for the Sunday of the Holy Cross as a guide, the Late Byzantine church was able not only to articulate a new vision of the relation of heavenly and earthly hierarchies that placed the patriarch and clergy in the position of highest authority, but also to subsume the already extant symbolic trope of the emperor as an angel into its comprehensive scheme.

While the ideology of the emperor as the image of Christ continued in the realm of imperial ceremonial,⁶⁴ his prestige was definitely eclipsed within the church, which was increasingly the place where ritual reflected real power.⁶⁵ In the previous chapter, we noted the avoidance of exact correspondence between the liturgical vestments of the prelates and the costume of the emperor and courtiers that they reference. The symbolic cost of the emperor's vesting as a deacon is a counter-example that sheds more light on this mix-and-match approach taken by the clergy towards the insignia of the court. By combining elements from the costume of various prestigious offices, Byzantine prelates were able to adopt these insignia as indices of exalted rank without inserting themselves into any specific position in the imperial

hierarchy. The borrowed regalia from the imperial sphere combined with embroidered decoration to elaborate a parallel, ecclesiastical hierarchy with Christ at its head and the clergy as his servants. As it turned out, it was finally the emperor, not the clergy, who succumbed to the temptation to sacrifice the carefully constructed ambiguity of his status vis-a-vis the clergy and thus be subsumed into the rival hierarchy of the Church, both real and imagined.

Despite the success of the Byzantine Church in creating and expanding a comprehensive symbolic system linking heavenly and earthly hierarchies, this system differed fundamentally from the structure of the imperial hierarchy. The imperial system was, of necessity, pyramidal. The emperor stood at the summit of the court hierarchy as its sole intermediary with the divine. The ceremonial manuals and lists of precedence produced to regulate the ceremonial life of the court reveal that each office had a unique costume to distinguish its unique rank in the chain of authority descending from the emperor. The liturgical dress of the Church, despite the innovations of the eleventh through fourteenth centuries, never developed such a degree of differentiation among the ranks of the clergy. In part, this was due to the speed at which new insignia, introduced as patriarchal privileges, spread to lower ranks of prelates. The polystaurion phelonion and the sakkos were carefully restricted by the canonists, yet they rapidly trickled down the episcopal ranks from the patriarchs to major archbishops and eventually to all metropolitans.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the figural embroideries that helped to articulate the dependence of the clergy on Christ spread beyond the episcopate, as surviving embroidered vestments inscribed with the names of priests and monks attest.⁶⁷ Officially frowned upon by canonists, figural embroidery could hardly have remained the jealously guarded prerogatives of the ecclesiastical elite.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy, like the imperial one, had claims to universality, but it did not vest these claims in a single office. Despite the monarchical tendencies of certain Late Byzantine patriarchs of Constantinople, the Byzantine Church never developed a centralized model of Church government comparable to the papacy of the high Middle Ages. The Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy was always conditioned by a tension between the universal sovereignty of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the full sacramental authority of each bishop within his diocese. If apologists for patriarchal privileges could claim that the Church has 'Christ as its head and the patriarch as his image ⁶⁸ their claims were counterbalanced by the idea that each bishop fully represented Christ in the Eucharistic liturgy, as Symeon of

Thessalonike repeatedly insisted. Although the visual association of Christ and the episcopate began with the patriarch, it was not focused into a single, pyramidal hierarchy. Every bishop, no matter how humble his see, was an archiereus, a high priest in the image of Christ, and the priests and deacons subject to him represented the angels serving Christ in heaven.

Despite this internal tension in Orthodox ecclesiology between pyramidal and dispersed models of authority, the imagined hierarchy articulated by Late Byzantine liturgical vestments made even grander claims than those implied by the dress of the emperor and his court. The art and literature of Byzantium that imagined the imperial court of Constantinople to be an image of the court of Christ made it an inexact reflection of its heavenly model. The emperor, who was on earth the image of Christ, did not correspond in rank and dress to Christ but to the archangels. Christ, clad in antique dress, remained incommensurate and irreducible above both heavenly and earthly hierarchies. The imperial court had a certain visual continuity from its first rank to its last, but it was not directly continuous with the court of heaven. The emperor and the archangels could step from one realm to another, but their costume and rank changed as they [crossed the boundary between the earthly and heavenly spheres](#).⁶⁹ In contrast, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, lacking a single earthly head, expressed its direct dependence on Christ. By placing Christ on their garments and headgear in a way analogous to the use of the imperial image on the costume of courtiers, Byzantine prelates expressed the continuity of their own hierarchy on earth with the hierarchy of heaven. Late Byzantine liturgical vestments revealed the hidden unity of the Church on earth and in heaven, a unity more perfectly, if less visibly manifested in the Eucharist itself.

Conclusions

This study has shown the transformation of Byzantine liturgical dress from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries as it appropriated and adapted forms and imagery from the dress of the court to express its own ideas about the sacramental and hierarchical roles of the clergy. In reviewing our case, it may be instructive to look past the dramatic developments of the last centuries of Byzantium to the eve of these transformations. In the annals of the eleventh century we encounter the story of the meteoric rise and fall of Michael I Keroularios, Patriarch of Constantinople. An exponent of a monarchical patriarchate and a man of enormous personal charisma, Keroularios intervened directly in imperial affairs, breaking off ties with Rome over the objections of Constantine IX Monomachos, making and unmaking Michael VI, and allegedly threatening to similarly demolish his erstwhile ally, Isaac I Komnenos.¹ Keroularios is said to have finally stepped over the line by affecting red shoes, one of the key insignia of the emperor himself. According to the Continuator of Skylitzes, at least, this was the justification for his disgrace and deposition by Isaac Komnenos.² Whether or not one accepts this account of Keroularios' trespass as literally true, it is highly revealing of Byzantine attitudes towards the symphonia of emperor and patriarch and the unacceptability of open rivalry between them. The event is also highly exceptional. Although patriarchs frequently challenged emperors and were as frequently deposed by them, one can hardly point to another instance of the relationship between the Byzantine Emperor and his patriarch veering so close to the sort of pitched battle over symbols of power as that between the German emperors and the popes that dominated the political landscape of Western Europe in the same period.

What Keroularios was unable to pull off-whether in reality or in the imagination of his critics-was gradually accomplished by his successors. The astonishing array of imperial trappings that mark the patriarchs and other major prelates of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would no doubt have caused scandal in the eleventh. The sakkos, the mitre, the colours of imperial offices, and, above all, the decoration of liturgical dress both echoed and threatened to upstage the regalia of the emperor and his high officials. What seems to us the astonishing reticence of the Byzantine sources in reporting these innovations in liturgical dress is itself a testimony to the subtlety with which they were introduced over a period of several centuries. What is

more striking still is that these trappings were worn not only by fierce advocates of patriarchal supremacy like Keroularios, but by a series of patriarchs whose personal character ranged from the grandiose to the ascetic. The externals of dress and adornment contributed to the prestige and institutional power of the office of patriarch rather than reflecting the charisma of individual holders of the see of Constantinople.

The old consensus among scholars regarding the imperial elements in Byzantine liturgical costume was that they were assumed by the Patriarch of Constantinople upon his assuming leadership of the Christian millet under the Ottoman Turks. As the surviving vestments and the textual sources have become better known, this thesis has been revised, with patriarchs picking up imperial trappings as the power of the emperors declined over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As I hope that I have shown, the process extends still further back in time, to the era of the empire's relative prosperity under the Komnenoi. This fact alone should cast doubt on the assumption that the absence of an emperor or the weakness of the imperial office was the critical factor in the importation of court costume into the dress of the Church. The very oblique manner in which the imperial elements were adopted, reshuffled, and re-coded for liturgical use points away from any intent to challenge imperial authority directly. Rather, these adaptations in the dress of the clergy are part of an effort to articulate more forcefully, in the face of heightened-not diminished-claims put forth in imperial rhetoric, the theological teaching of Christ as present through the ministration of his bishops.

The decoration of liturgical vestments put a great deal of theological thinking, both about the nature of the Church and the meaning of its liturgy, into a visual form accessible to priests and people alike. As we noted, the frequently repeated theme of the life of Christ as condensed in the Feast Cycle reflects a long mystagogical tradition of interpreting the liturgy as a reenactment of salvation history. By emphasizing this idea both on the vestments of the clergy and in the painted decoration of the church, the Orthodox never allowed the historical symbolism of the Eucharist to be reduced to a recollection of the Passion alone, as was often the case in the late medieval West. Similarly, the image of Christ as High Priest not only makes a statement about the role of the clergy as his earthly representatives, it emphasizes the role of the Eucharist as the making present of Christ's self-sacrifice and avoids a narrow view of the sacrament as primarily a reenactment of the Last Supper. The Council of Trent recognized in the liturgical writings of

Nicholas Kabasilas a corrective to these errors of late-medieval Catholicism on the one hand and the Protestant Reformers on the other.³ (How far they succeeded in correcting either trend is a subject of some considerable doubt by liturgical historians.) By continually demonstrating these ideas before the people in the form of images, executed both on cloth and in paint, the Orthodox clergy preserved the Byzantine tradition of liturgical piety into the modern era.

The translation of thought into image, however, comes at a price. The visual imposes limits where the textual does not. Clothing a heavenly figure in the dress of earthly rank could convey a theological idea with a directness and force not always possible in words, but it also risks narrowing the range of intellectual associations that can be attached to the image by the theologically astute viewer. The icon of Christ as High Priest is a case in point. The theology of the highpriesthood of Jesus is explored in detail already in the New Testament, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and followed up in successive generations of ecclesiastical writers. Not before the fourteenth century, however, was the concept of Christ the High Priest translated so [literally into visual terms](#).⁴ In virtually every other post-iconoclastic representation of Christ in Byzantium (excepting, of course, the scenes of his infancy, Baptism, and Passion), he wears the tunic and himation of the Hellenistic Mediterranean. Already in the fourth century, when the emperor Julian grew a beard and affected this costume to mark himself as a philosopher, such clothing was long out of date. The continued use of an archaic form of dress for Christ in the Byzantine era, as we have noted before, placed him outside of any earthly hierarchy. This neutrality allowed the same image type of Christ in tunic and himation to represent differing aspects of his nature, as reflected in the wide variety of inscriptions on his icon: antiphonites, philanthropos, soter, pantapoptes, pantokrator. The inscribed titles could change, but the image remained virtually the same. Representing the high-priesthood of Christ by clothing him in the vestments of a bishop thus represents a radical shift of priorities. The image paradoxically strips away the other aspects of his nature by isolating this one identity. While one may view the introduction of the new image type of Christ the High Priest as an enrichment of the stock of Christian imagery, the innovation comes at the cost of closing off the other aspects of Christ's identity from the image.

[The images added to the vestments of the clergy are only part of a broader trend in the Late Byzantine Church to give visual form to symbolic thought. As with the epitaphios at the Great Entrance, the function of such images was to lay bare the meaning of the very](#)

mysteries they hid from the direct view of the faithful. On the other hand, the doctrine of images forged in the midst of the struggle over iconoclasm meant that Byzantium, unlike the West, had no accepted category of didactic images, meant primarily for instruction rather than veneration. With the insistence on the objective reality underlying holy images,⁵ the problems raised by such paradoxical images as the Communion of the Apostles increase as they more closely mirror the earthly and heavenly realms. As the liturgical scholar Hans-Joachim Schulz has pointed out, the image cuts off the question of difference, 'that is, the question of whether that which is represented is the ecclesial liturgy with its participation in eternal life through grace or, on the contrary, the heavenly reality itself that is being seen through the medium of the ecclesial liturgy'.⁶ In the terms of image and referent canonized by iconodule theologians, the composition posits a heavenly liturgy as an objective model for the earthly one, something affirmed by Symeon of Thessalonike, who insists that the two are identical, only the liturgy of Heaven is conducted 'without veils'.⁷ By showing the specific rites of the Church as identical to the liturgy enacted by the saints and angels in heaven, the Church inspired a conservative attitude towards the externals of the liturgy that at once preserved the Byzantine inheritance but also closed it off from any historical understanding of its own development.⁸

We have seen how the theoretical parallels between earthly and heavenly hierarchies were exploited in Byzantine art and rhetoric. In the image of Christ as High Priest we witness the logical extreme of the process begun in the imperial paradigm of the earthly court as a mirror for the heavenly one. Such a metaphorical construct could be pushed by rhetoricians half as praise of the emperor, half as play with artistic conventions. The same inflationary economy of symbols of rank that drove the development of an increasingly elaborate hierarchy of dress both in the Church and in the imperial court seems to underlie the development of images of heavenly realities. In rhetoric, ritual, and art, the emperor and the clergy were more and more closely tied to the heavenly models they were believed to reflect. With the introduction of the image of Christ dressed in the vestments of a ministering bishop-or, in its extreme case, Christ depicted in such costume on the vestments of a bishop-this line of artistic exploration reaches its terminus in the visual assimilation of the image to its referent. In the place of the metaphorical and shifting mirror of rhetoric, we have the solemnity and immutability of the icon. Had the empire thrived for long enough, its artists might well have found a way around such an impasse, but the course of events brought on the

retrenchment of the Church as the sole surviving Byzantine institution. What can from one point of view be considered a dead end, a final playing out of a centuries-old cultural metaphor, can also be seen as providential. The art of the Late Byzantine Church, preserved into the centuries of the Ottoman era, promised to a people under the domination of a foreign religion immediate access to the company of heaven, if only for the duration of the Divine Liturgy. Under the protection of a body of clergy presenting itself as a continuation of the heavenly hierarchy, the Orthodox faithful thrived on the assurance that, beneath the thin veil of images, their church presented not merely the semblance, but the reality of the Kingdom of God.

APPENDIX A

Handlist of Embroidered Vestments to c. 1500¹

Sakkoi

1. The Vatican Sakkos, or 'Dalmatic of Charlemagne' (figs. 2.15-2.17)

LOCATION: Vatican, Treasury of St Peter's

DIMENSIONS: 162 cm high, 144 cm wide across the shoulders

DATE: century (recorded in inventories of the Treasury of St Peter's by 1489)

ICONOGRAPHY: The front of the garment shows the calling of the Elect at the Last Judgement. The youthful figure of Christ Emmanuel sits enthroned on a rainbow, the angelic thrones (represented as wheels) under his feet, with the four Evangelist symbols around him. He holds an open book with the verse *Liev(r) of euloy, qleEvoL Toy Tr(a-r)poc* [Lou, KA5povoμ.~oa-re T7ly 5-roΛμaaμEv5v v(eiv /3aoLAeiv) (Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you) (Matthew 25: 34).² The inscription on either side of him identifies him as H Avaa-rams K(at) ~ ~w~ (The resurrection and the life). Christ is flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, who are joined in the surrounding circle by various classes of saints and angels. Below, in the corners, the figure of the Good Thief with his cross and the infant souls of the righteous in the bosom of Abraham appear with embroidered foliage, evoking the landscape of Paradise. On the back of the garment, the Transfiguration of Christ. Christ, Moses, and Elijah stand atop pinnacles of rock representing Mt. Tabor, while the figures of SS Peter, James, and John recoil violently from the spectacle. In the middle ground are two subsidiary scenes of Christ conversing with the disciples as he leads them up the mountain and back down again after the miracle. On the sleeves of the garment are shown the Communion of the Apostles in the elements of bread (right sleeve) and wine (left sleeve), accompanied by the inscribed words of

institution of the sacrament: aAa(3E-rE, c/3ayE-rE,» < < ThE-rE E~
au-rou 7rav7E(c)» (Take, eat... and Drink ye all of this ...).

' Many of these objects are treated in the previous comprehensive monograph on the subject, Gabriel Millet's *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin*. In most cases, I have chosen to omit earlier bibliography already accounted for in Millet's monograph.

ORNAMENT: The background of the figural scenes is sprinkled with small patee crosses in circles, a feature shared with other embroideries of the early Palaiologan period.³ The neck opening is surrounded by a border with a meandering vine motif. A similar, although not identical motif frames the extension of the garment beneath the figural scenes on front and back. The non-figural area is decorated with spiralling vines, the loops of which enclose patee crosses with tear-shaped rays in their corners.

INSCRIBED: As described under iconography

LITERATURE: J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 304-5; L. Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnicki vez* (Belgrade, 1940), 32-4, pl. XIV.1; G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican: Les elus, images et croyances* (Paris, 1945), passim; Millet, *Broderies religieuses*, 67-71, pl. CXXXV-CLI; D. T. Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era* (London, 1963), 262; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 94-5, pl. 1-6; S. Beltrame, 'La cosidetta dalmatica imperiale di Carlo Magno, un sakkos bizantino di eta paleologd, *Patavium* 1 (1993), 53-69; W. Woodfin in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 300-1, cat. no. 177.

2. 'Major Sakkos of Photios' (figs. 2.8-2.9 [Plates 8-9], 2.20, 3.4)

LOCATION: Moscow, Kremlin Armoury (ex coll. Synodal Sacristy)

DIMENSIONS: 135 cm high x 112 cm across sleeves, 123 cm wide at lower hem

DATE: 1414-17, based on the marriage dates of John and Anna and Anna's obit

ICONOGRAPHY: Scenes from the life of Christ displayed in crosses and gammadia, together with prophets. Saints, donors, and typological Old Testament scenes occupy the sides of the vestment. With the exception of the donor portraits, all scenes are labelled in Greek.

On the front, running across the yoke, is a deesis composition with the Mother of God flanked by two pairs of angels and a pair of seraphim. In the angular panels (gammadia) below is the Annunciation, split between the Archangel Gabriel at proper right and the Virgin at the left. The figures 'speak' the inscriptions associated with them: «Xaipe KEXapLTwμEV7), o K(upto)s tLETa ao6» ('Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee' [Luke 1: 27]) and a'IBot ~ 8o6Aq K(vpio)v yEvoLro μoi Kara To kua aou» ('Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word' [Luke 1: 38]). Between the two halves of the Annunciation is the image of Christ Anapeson, the sleeping Emmanuel with a watching angel, set amid embroidered foliage. Below, in the large cross, the Crucifixion of Christ, with the spear-wielding soldier and the centurion Longinus as well as the usual figures of Mary, John, and attendant angels. Six prophets 'comment' on the scene: Isaiah and Jeremiah at left and right, and Solomon, David, Zephaniah, and Hosea within roundels at the corners. The angular panels below the Crucifixion show the Entry into Jerusalem, with Christ seated on the back of the donkey at proper right and the city of Jerusalem opposite. Between the two halves of the scene is the image of Christ in the tomb, lying under a canopy with lamps, labelled «I(,qaoi)s X(ptar(;c) o (Jesus Christ upon the tomb). Abutting the lower part of this image are the twin images of the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet. The large cross below shows the Anastasis, with Christ rescuing Adam from the tomb, who stands with Eve and four other patriarchs at Christ's right. David, Solomon, Daniel and John the Baptist stand opposite, along with another prophet shown only as the tip of a hat and a segment of halo, and a pair of angels looks on from above. Job and Habakkuk witness the scene from roundels in the upper corners of the cross. Constantine and Helena, each holding an image of the True Cross, stand on either side of the Anastasis. At the foot of this side are the portraits of the junior Emperor John (VIII) Palaiologos and his consort Anna of Moscow, with Anna's parents, the Grand Prince of Moscow Basil Dmitrievich and Sophia of Lithuania opposite. Between the two pairs of standing figures is a trio of busts of the Lithuanian martyrs John, Eustathios, and Anthony, labelled a01 Poaou> (recte PoiaaoL, Russians). The sides of the sakkos are decorated with images of holy bishops standing under arches. Those on the proper right side of the vestment wear sakkoi: Clement of Rome, Peter of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzos, John Chrysostom, Ignatius of Antioch, Babylas of Antioch (who is shown with a mitre, an attribute normally reserved for images of patriarchs of Rome or of Alexandria), Athanasios, Cyril of Alexandria, Tarasios of Constantinople, and Metropol itan Photios of Kiev. Those on the left wear phelonias: Nicholas of Myra, Spyridon, Amphilochios of Iconium, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Gregory of Decapolis,

Gregory of Nyssa, Andrew of Crete, Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory Dialogos (i.e. Pope Gregory the Great), and Tryphillios of Cyprus. The Old Testament scenes of the Sacrifice of Abraham and of Jacob's Ladder occupy the lower corners of this side. The borders of the sleeves are decorated with medallions showing martyrs: Demetrios, Theodore Tiron, and Menas, and Nestor, Eustathios, and Lypos.

The back of the sakkos shows, across the yoke of the shoulders, a deesis with Christ as Man of Sorrows at the centre, flanked by the Mother of God and John the Evangelist, a pair of angels, and a pair of seraphim. Immediately below is the image of the Hospitality of Abraham to the Holy Trinity. The gammadion to the left shows the Nativity of Christ; the one to the right shows the Presentation. The image of the Flight into Egypt is divided on either side of the upper arm of the large cross, which itself shows the Ascension of Christ. The prophets Malachi and Micah witness the event from the sides of the cross, while the prophets Daniel and Gideon appear in roundels in the corners below the arms. The gammadia below the Ascension show Christ's Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane and the Betrayal by Judas. The Transfiguration appears in the central rectangle between the crosses. Flanking its lower part are the scenes of the Baptism of Christ and the Raising of Lazarus. The large cross at the foot of the garment shows the Dormition of the Mother of God. The hymnographers Cosmas and John of Damascus flank the scene at the arms of the cross, while Theophanes and Joseph appear in roundels above it. The lower gammadia and the interstitial spaces between them are devoted to the Pentecost, with the figure of Kosmos, the personification of the world, occupying the central position. The holy bishops, as on the front of the sakkos, are distinguished by their dress. The figures on the wearer's right wear the sakkos; those on the left wear the phelonion. The bishops on the left are Dionysios, Hierotheos, Clement of Ancyra, Anthimos of Nicomedia, Aberkios, Hypatios, Eleutherios, Ambrose, Polycarp of Smyrna, and Ananias of Damascus. On the right appear Sylvester, James the son of Alphaeus, Basil, Mitrophanes, Nikephoros, Paul the Confessor, Meletios of Antioch, John the Merciful, John the Faster, and Blaise. The lower corners of the garment show the Tree of Jesse and Moses' vision of the Burning Bush. The sleeves bear roundels with images of the martyrs Procopios, Theodore Stratelates, Niketas, Photios, Nikitos, and Merkourios.

ORNAMENT: The bishop saints stand under arches of ogival form, their supporting columns largely obscured by (later) pearl stringing. The spandrels of the arches are filled with a symmetrical budding

plant motif and, where two arches adjoin, a palmette with a fleur-de-llys at the centre. Patterns of foliage and interlace fill the interstices between the medallions on the sleeves. The decoration of the hems with a red taffeta band covered with heavy pearl embroidery and silver-gilt plaques is a later addition.

INSCRIBED: In contrast to the `Minor Sakkos, none of the prophets' scrolls bears an inscription, although the pattern of couching visually suggests lines of text. The language of inscription varies solely for the portraits of the imperial figures at the foot of the front of the sakkos. Along with the usual labels of scenes in Greek, there are two longer texts associated with the figural scenes. In the Pentecost, there is inscribed the following stichos: 7roTE OuvEX?0s7aav, 8ta -rr)v -rr)v -roAttav'rvpyolroiias·l yAtooat 8E vuv &a -rev T7)s OEOyvwaiaac.»4 (The tongues were once confused through the vainglory of building the tower [of Babel], now the tongues are enlightened through the glory of the knowledge of God.) The scene of Moses before the burning bush is also given a substantial inscription: «'Qc/Oz) 8E avrc iiyyEAoc Kupiov Ev clAoyi Trvpos EK Tou /3aTOv, EKa1EOEV av-rov Kdptoc EK Tou /3a-rov AEYwv Moj(u)cn), 6 8E Et7TE(v) -ri (E)o-rt(v). lvoov [recte: luoat] TO VTroBr)µa EK Tcov 'ro8(,4.» (And the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush, and the Lord called to him out of the midst of the bush, saying `Moses, Moses, and he answered `Here I am, [and he said] `put off the shoes from thy feet' [Exodus 3.2a, 4b, 5a]).

The future Emperor John VIII and Anna are inscribed in Greek with the usual imperial titles: a'Iw(avvr)c) Ev X(pio-r)(,~ -rc, O(E)w ma-roc BacnAeic 6 TiaAEoAoyoc [sic], > > and aAv(v)a ~ EucE/3EO-ra-rr) Auyouara ~ Ha1Eoloyiva [sic] > > (John Paleologos [recte Palaiologos], the Emperor faithful in Christ (our) God; Anna Paleologina [recte Palaiologina], the most pious Augusta). Grand Prince Basil Dmitrievich and his wife, Sophia of Lithuania, inscribed in Slavonic characters: « Kxa/3b Be/AIIKbi Bacot/nrtre (sic) ,414M/r4Tprt/ reset/qlb» and Be/nrtxa Cco/4rt/3i.» The extraneous ge's in the orthography would be a natural mistake for a native speaker of Greek; the Byzantine Greek gamma would have an intervocalic value similar to the glide in the Russian Photios, who stands adjacent to John Palaio logos, is himself inscribed with his ecclesiastical title in Greek: a`0 7(avLEp(D7aToc (-L(77T)p(o)7roAL77jc Kai Haa(W) Po)al(ac) &w7Loc,,, (His All-holiness the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus' Photios). The complete Greek text of the Nicene Creed is embroidered on the garment, beginning beneath the deesis of the Mother of God at the neck on the front of the sakkos, and ending across the bottom of the back, beneath the Pentecost:

Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα, Παντοκράτορα, / ποιητὴν οὐ(ρα)νοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων/καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κ(ύριο)ν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστό)ν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεν(ν)ηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν ἑώνων [recte: αἰώνων]· φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεν(ν)ηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο. Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθ(ρώπου)ς / καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πν(εύμα)τος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. Σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα. Καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ / ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς. Καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐ(ρα)νοὺς καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν / τοῦ Πατρὸς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον / μετὰ δόξης) κρῖναι ζ(ών)τας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πν(εύμα) τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. Εἰς μίαν, Ἁγίαν, Καθολικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁμολογῶ ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Προσδοκῶ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν. Καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλ(λ)οντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.

(I believe in God, the Father, the Ruler of all things, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the onlybegotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all the ages, Light of Light, true God begotten of true God, not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate from the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and was made man. Who was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried. And the third day he rose again, in accordance with the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and is seated at the right hand of the Father. And who shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will be no end. And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spoke by the prophets. And in one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church. I profess one baptism for the remission of sins. I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of age to come. Amen.)

A presumably later inscription in pearl stringing on either side of the neck opening gives the name of the patron in Russian characters: `(DoTVtn MuTPornoAUTa'.

LITERATURE: 1. M. Snegirev, Pamiatniki moskovskoi drevnosti (Moscow, 1842-45), 175; Sawa, Archbishop of Tver and Kashin, Ukazatel' dlia obozreniia moskovskoi Patriarshei (nyne Sinodal'noi) riznitsy, 5th edn. (Moscow, 1883), 11, pls. 5, 29-30; D. A. Rovinskii, Podrobnii slovar' russkikh gravirovannykh portretov (St Petersburg,

1889), 1, 188-9; Dobbert, *Das Abendmahl Christi in der bildenden Kunst*, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1892), 276; A. Uspenskii, 'Patriarshaia riznitsa, *Mir iskusstva* 10 (1904), 204-5, 240-1; Soteriou, 36, fig. 1; V. N. Lazarev, 'Moskovskaia zhivopis, shit'e i skul'ptura pervoi poloviny XV v.', in *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, ed. I. E. Grabar et al. (Moscow, 1955), III, 192; M. V. Alpatov, *Khudozhestvennye pamiatniki Moskovskogo Kremliia* (Moscow, 1956), 111, pl. 78; Pisarskaia, *Pamiatniki vizantiiskogo iskusstva V-XV vekov v Gosudarstvennoi Oruzheinoi palate* (Leningrad, 1964), 28-9, pl. LVI-LXI; Papas, *Geschichte der Messgewänder*, 120; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 95-6, pl. 7-10; D. Obolenskii, 'Some Notes Concerning a Byzantine Portrait of John VIII', *Eastern Churches Review* 4 (1972), 141-6; Piltz, *Trois sakkoi*, 31-43, 48-9, 58-62, 66-7; Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 329, figs. 300-4; N. A. Maiasova, 'Pamiatniki srednevekovogo litsevoogo shit'ia iz sobraniia Uspenskogo sobora, in *Uspenskii sobor Moskovskogo Kremliia: Materialy i issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1985), 194, figs. 60, 61; Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery*, 44-51, cat. no. 10; Teteriatnikov, 'Private Salvation Programs, 47-61. Piltz, 'A Portrait of a Byzantine Emperor, *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 55 (1998), 222-6; M. Theochares, 'Le sakkos de Photios, metropolite de Kiev: un document confessionnel et diplomatique, in *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Vizantiia i drevnaia Rus': k 100-letiiu Andreia Nikolaevicha Grabara: 1896-1990*, eds. A. L. Batalov et al. (St Petersburg, 1999), 418-29; Woodfin, 'Liturgical Textiles' in *Evans, Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 297-8,

3. 'Minor Sakkos of Photios' (figs. 2.6-2.7 [Plates 6-7])

LOCATION: Moscow, Kremlin Armoury (ex coll. Synodal Sacristy)
'Minor Sakkos of Photios'

DIMENSIONS: 142 x 150 cm

DATE: Mid-14th century (after 1339), with Russian additions of 15th century and later

ICONOGRAPHY: The principal scenes on the front of the garment are the Crucifixion and Anastasis, each placed in a roundel inscribed in a Greek cross and surrounded by four prophets with inscribed scrolls bearing text in Greek. The Transfiguration and Ascension occupy the back of the sakkos; there the prophets hold scrolls with Slavonic inscriptions. The Entry into Jerusalem, Raising of Lazarus, Pentecost, and First Council of Nicaea appear on the sleeves, similarly framed but without prophetic commentary. Standing figures of saints under multi-lobed arches occupy the sides of the garment. Monastic saints appear

in roundels along the lower border of the vestment.

ORNAMENT: The neckline of the vestment is ornamented front and back with a vine motif with calyx forms at the branches and large, fleshy leaves. Palmette flowers appear just beneath the neck at the shoulders. The arcades under which the standing bishops appear have five-lobed arches supported on simple columns with basket capitals. The spandrels of the arches contain rather summary foliate sprigs, and the registers are separated by an undulating vine-and-tendrill motif. The lower border with the busts of monastic saints alternates the figural roundels with large, eight-lobed medallions containing crosses and smaller roundels with rosette and fleur-de-lys motifs. Later borders with pearl stringing and applied silver-gilt plaques have been applied to the foot of the vestment and to the sleeves.

INSCRIBED: The majority of the Greek text of the Nicene Creed appears on the vertical potamoi on the front and back of the sakkos, breaking off at the words *aKat eis -ro HP(e6)μα -ro Ayiov -ro Kuptov*» in the Holy Spirit, the Lord...). Apart from the truncation, there are no differences in wording from the text on the Major Sakkos; although the Minor Sakkos resorts to more abbreviation, its orthography is marginally superior:

Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα, Παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐ(ρα)νοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κ(ύριο)ν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστό)ν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, / τ[ὸν] ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων· φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο. Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου καὶ ἐν(αν)θρωπήσαντα. Σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα. Καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς. Καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς / καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν / τοῦ Πατρὸς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον / μετὰ δόξαις [recte: δόξης] κρῖνε [recte: κρῖναι] ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασι(λ)είας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Π(νεῦ)μα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον.

(For translation, see above, No. 2)

Across the centre of the back side is inscribed the prayer, «Oi iepais Gov K(upt)e Ev86oov-ray 8taKau.,ovv7(v)» (Let thy priests, O Lord, be clothed with righteousness [Psalm 131(132): 9]).

The prophets surrounding the four principal scenes hold scrolls with legible inscriptions. Around the Crucifixion are the Prophet Isaiah, whose scroll reads, <'Dc ,rho'/ a-rov [ETri (He was led like a sheep to

the slaughter [Isaiah 53: 7]); Jeremiah, whose scroll reads, <Kat Aa/3ov -ra TpiaKOVra apyupta» (And they took the thirty pieces of silver [Matthew 27: 9, paraphrasing Zachariah 11: 12-13]); Moses, whose scroll reads <O</iovra Tijv ~w)v [aou Kpeuai4ij dTrEvairL TJi (Seeing your life [suspended before your eyes] [paraphrase of Dent. 28: 66]); and Zephanaiah, whose scroll reads, <Xaipe ac/oSpa Ov(ycnep) [Lnuv]» (Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion [Zephaniah 3: 14]).

Surrounding the Anastasis are the Prophet Ezekiel, whose scroll reads, Eis uμ.ds (Behold, I will send into you the spirit of life [Ezekiel 37: 5]); Joshua, whose scroll reads Et 77 -rwv wTrEvav-riwv» (Art thou one of ours, or of our adversaries? [Joshua 5: 13]); Jonah, whose scroll reads, a7rEpcXtO5 ?Swp [Lot Ews L/iuX5c d/3uaaoc EKUKAWa4 μE» (The waters compassed me about even to the soul, the deep hath closed me round about [Jonah 2: 6]); Elisha, whose scroll bears the inscription, a[Zc:,aa] au, 7rEpLELAqc/uia ui(ov) > > (Thou [shalt live and] embrace a son [2 Kings 4: 16].)

The prophets surrounding the Transfiguration and Ascension bear scrolls inscribed in Old Church Slavonic. The prophets David, Micah, Moses, and Elijah comment on the image of the Transfiguration. David's scroll reads, <BaBOp1 H EpMOHI co iMe[HH]» (Thabor and Hermon [rejoice in thy] name [Ps 88.13 (89.14)].) Micah's scroll is inscribed, oboy4(eTb) B riocn'nAHSlia AHH [w6oH]» (In the days to come [the mountain of the Lord's house] shall be... [Micah 4: 1].) Moses' scroll states, «B3HAe McoiccnH Ha ropy H Hoxp(bI) w6na(K'b)» (Moses went up on the mountain, and the cloud covered [the mountain] [Ex 24: 15].) Elijah's scroll is inscribed, «Pe(He) L(ocHOA)b KO MH(e): Aa cTaiemH HpeAo MHO(IO)» (The Lord said to me: 'Stand before me' cf. 1 Kings 19: 11].) The image of the Ascension of Christ is surrounded by the prophets Ezekiel, David (a second time), Zechariah, and Malachi. Ezekiel's scroll reads, <y>pa3oyM\$IOtb Bci, iaxo» (So that all [this people] may know, that ... [1 Kings 18: 37, actually spoken by Elijah, not Ezekiel].) David's scroll is inscribed, «B3iAe b(o)rn <B7> BocKA[HKHOBexiH]» (God has gone up with a shout [Ps 46(47):5].) Zechariah's scroll reads, «Taxo rnaroiHTb F(ocriOA)b: o[6panyc3i]» (Thus saith the Lord: I will return [Zech 8: 3].) Malachi holds a scroll reading, 4/IM3i Moe na [sc. Aa] 6y4e(T) iaBAeH[o]» (Let my name be made manifest [cf. Malachi 1: 11].)

LITERATURE: Sawa, Archbishop of Tver and Kashin, Ukazatel' , 11; Uspenskii, `Patriarshaia riznitsd, 209, 241; Papas, Messgewander, 120; L. V. Pisarskaia, Pamiatniki vizantiiskogo iskusstva V-XV vekov v

Gosudarstvennoi Orusheinoi palate (Leningrad, 1966), 328, figs. 282-4; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 96-7, pl. 11-14; Piltz, *Trois sakkoi*, 29-31, 42-3, 46-7, 65-6; Piltz, 'Notes sur le <<Petit Sakkos du Metropolitte Photius>>' in *Les pays du nord et Byzance*, *Figura*, n.s. 19 (1981), 469-79; Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 329, figs. 305-7; N. A. Maiasova, 'Pamiatniki srednevekovogo litsevoogo shit'ia iz sobraniia Uspenskogo sobord, 194, fig. 59; Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery*, 38-43, cat. no. 9. Woodfin in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 302-3, cat. no. 178; A. G. Barkov, ' "Malyi sakkos Mitropolita Fotiia" iz sobraniia muzeev moskovskogo Kremlia: Problemy stil'ia I datirovki, in *Moskovskii kreml' XIV veka* (Moscow, 2009) 349-75.

Mitre

1. Mitre from Esphigmenou (fig. 1.8)

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Esphigmenou Monastery

DIMENSIONS: 14 cm high x 19 cm diameter

DATE: Possibly late fifteenth century; more likely sixteenth. The poor condition makes accurate judgement difficult.

ICONOGRAPHY: On the flat crown, the Old Testament Trinity; around the perimeter, the Great Deesis under eight arches. The Virgin, John the Baptist, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, and SS Peter and Paul all turn inward towards the central figure of Christ; on the centre of the back of the mitre, a single bishop is shown frontally. Above the Deesis, eight roundels in the spandrels of the arches show six-winged seraphim. The standing figures are labelled with abbreviated Greek inscriptions. The mitre is unornamented apart from the ogee arches framing the figures.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 71, pl. CLII-CLIII.

Omophoria

1. Roundel (Polos) from an Omophorion

LOCATION: Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, Cabinet des medailles, Schl. 106; ex coll. G. Schlumberger

DIMENSIONS: 10.2 cm diameter

DATE: Fifteenth century (or possibly early sixteenth). Martiniani-Reber notes its stylistic affinity with the Patmos epigone with the embroidered Christ anapason, which she places in the fifteenth century.

ICONOGRAPHY: The roundel shows the Mother of God of the Blachernitissa type. The Virgin frontal and rigidly symmetrical in her orant pose; the Christ Child shown in front of her breast blesses with both hands. Both figures are labelled with the typical abbreviated inscriptions in Greek.

LITERATURE: M. Martiniani-Reber in *Byzance*, 489, cat. no. 379.

2. Omophorion with Feasts

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Vatopaidi Monastery

DIMENSIONS: The cross-shaped appliques measure 33 x 33 cm, the inscribed potamoi measure 35 x 7.5 cm, the other four potamoi without inscription: 35 x 5 cm.

DATE: Late fifteenth century or possibly early sixteenth century; remounted. The style can be related to fifteenth-century embroideries, although the same schema is followed in the embroidered crosses of the omophorion of Patriarch Ieremias 11 (1572-1584), preserved in the Pantokrator Monastery of Mount Athos.⁶

ICONOGRAPHY: Four equal-armed crosses, each containing a large quatrefoil in the centre. The quatrefoils frame representations of the Crucifixion, Christ Carrying the Cross, Deposition, and Anastasis; vegetal ornament fills the interstitial spaces both of the images and of the cross arms. The terminal stripes, or potamoi, bear the Kufic inscriptions: AL ADILATU LISAN ALLAH (Righteousness is the language of God).

LITERATURE: M. Theocharis in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi*, 433-5, figs. 365-7 (captioned as sixteenth century, discussed as fifteenth century).

3. Omophorion with Feasts (fig. 2.5 [Plate 5])

LOCATION: Kremlin Museums, Inv. No. TK-2471

DIMENSIONS: 380 x 29 cm as currently mounted on a later textile

DATE: Late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The four crosses centre quatrefoils showing the Nativity, Baptism of Christ, Crucifixion, and Anastasis, while the Ascension is shown on the central medallion, or polos.

ORNAMENT: Branching vine scrolls with trefoil bud terminations occupy the arms of the crosses. Smaller sprays of ornamental foliage invade the background of the pictorial scenes as well.

NOTES: The embroideries of the Kremlin omophorion are similar in style to those on the omophorion at Vatopaidi, and they both share certain traits with stoles connected to the patriarchal court in Constantinople around the turn of the sixteenth century. The poor condition of the work makes firm conclusions about its date difficult. One can rule out, however, the tradition that it was worn at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, an error that seems to have arisen on account of the vestment's arrival in Moscow as a gift of the Metropolitan of Nicaea in the seventeenth century.

LITERATURE: Sawa, Archbishop of Tver and Kahsin, *Ukazatel'*, 25-6; Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery*, 24, cat. no. 3.

4. Omophorion with the Deesis

LOCATION: Archangelsk Regional Studies Museum

DIMENSIONS: 248 x 31 cm as currently mounted on a later textile

DATE: Fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The four crosses each feature the bust of Christ in a central roundel, flanked by roundels with the Virgin and John the Baptist to either side and the archangels Michael and Gabriel above and below. The round polos on the neck shows the bust of Christ. Inscribed in Greek.

ORNAMENT: The crosses themselves are quite plain apart from tendril-like hooks that branch from the four corners of each pictorial roundel. The potamoi feature heart-shaped palmettes in alternating orientations, as well as a chain-like vegetal interlace.

LITERATURE: Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery*, 28-9, cat. no. 4.

5. Embroidered crosses from an Omophorion (fig. A.1)

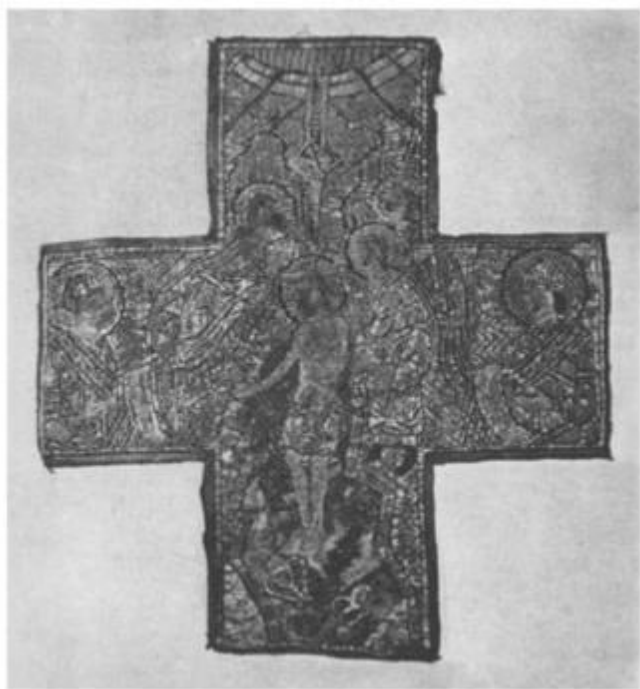
LOCATION: Ochrid, National Museum, formerly in the sacristy of the

church of St Clement, Ochrid

DIMENSIONS: Each cross 40 x 36 cm

DATE: Fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Four crosses survive in all. One cross depicts the Annunciation surrounded by images of Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Nicholas. Another shows the Presentation of Christ with the prophets Aaron and Daniel. The third shows the Baptism of Christ flanked by David and Solomon, and the fourth shows the Dormition of the Mother of God with two holy hierarchs. All inscriptions are in Greek.



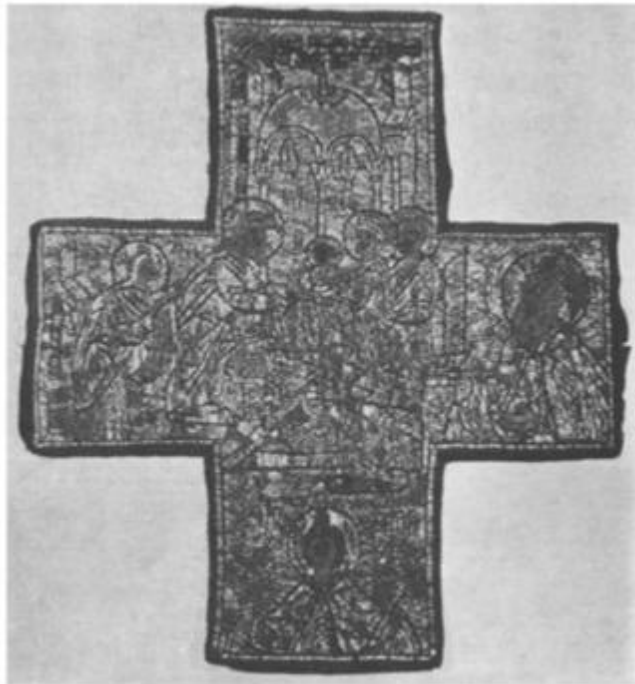


Fig. A.I. Omophorion cross, (detail), 15th century. National Museum of Ochrid. Photo by Branidor Debeljkovic. From D. Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji*, figs. 10, 11.

LITERATURE: L. Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnicki vez* (Belgrade, 1940), 34, pl. XV; D. Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji od XIV do XIX veka* (Belgrade, 1959), 57, cat. no. 34, figs. 10-11.

Epigonatia

1. Epigonation of Metropolitan Anthimos Kritopoulos (fig. 2.14)

LOCATION: Tismana, Romania, Monastic church (as of 1924)

DIMENSIONS: 32.5 x 32.5 cm (exclusive of tassels)

DATE: Dated c. 1380 on the basis of the Greek, cruciform monograms in the corners of the epigonation, which resolve to read: (o)A(i-rW) / Ouypo//3AaX(ia)s» (Of Anthimos, Metropolitan of Wallachia). The Anthimos in question must be Anthimos Kritopoulos, who was raised to Metropolitan status in 1370 and served until ceding the post in 1396 or 1397.

ICONOGRAPHY: The Anastasis, aH dy/a rou XpLarou Avaaraais. > > Christ raises Adam with his right hand, while the other participants

look on. Curiously, John the Baptist and King David, at Christ's left, look in the wrong direction, away from Christ. Vegetal motifs fill the interstices of the design.

ORNAMENT: The epigonation is bordered with a rinceau of reversed S-shaped vines; roundels with cruciform monograms occupy the corners. Foliate tendrils invade the background of the pictorial space.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 2-4, 64-5, pl. I, CXXIX, CXXX.

2. Epigonation from Ivron

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Ivron

DIMENSIONS: 34 x 35 cm (lacking tassels)

DATE: Fifteenth or sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The Anastasis, aH Avaa-raais. > > Christ raises both Adam and Eve simultaneously. The locking hardware of the gates of Hell is particularly prominent in the foreground.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 65, pl. CXXXI.

3. Epigonation from the Monastery of Putna (fig. A.2)

LOCATION: Putna, Monastery Inv. No. 17 (olim 96; 584)

DIMENSIONS: 42 x 42 (exclusive of tassels)

DATE: Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The Dormition, aH KoijjanS -ni c WEOTO)KOU. > > The scene is shown in developed form, with apostles and bishops surrounding the deathbed of the Virgin and a choir of angels appearing in a segment of sky behind the figure of Christ. Vessels in the foreground relate to the story of the disbelieving Jew (Jephonias or Athonios), although neither he nor the avenging angel are shown.

ORNAMENT: A border of stylized flowers of the 'Sassanian rosette' type, linked by stiff, chiastic foliate motifs. Similar rosettes ornament the hangings on the bier of the Virgin. Pearl stringing surrounds both the border motifs and the figures and furniture in the pictorial scene.

LITERATURE: Tafrali, *Putna*, 47-8, cat. no. 80, pl. XXXIX; Millet, *Broderies*, 65, pl. CXXXII; *Byzantine Art: An European Art* (Athens,

1964), 482-3, cat. no. 594; Musicescu, *La broderie medievale roumaine* (Bucharest, 1969), 34, cat. no. 5, figs. 7-8; M. Paradais, *Comori ale spiritualității românești la Putna* (Iași, 1988), 388-9, cat. no. 51.



Fig. A.2. Epigonation with Dormition of the Virgin, late 14th or early 15th century. Monastery of Putna, From Millet, *Broderies*, pl. CXXXII.

4. Epigonation from Dionysiou Monastery

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Dionysiou Monastery

DIMENSIONS: 32 x 32 cm

DATE: Fifteenth or sixteenth century. The inscribed monograms in the corners name the wearer: «Z(i)μw(v) i(e)p(o)μ(ova)X(o)s» (the Hieromonk Simon). No historical records, however, allow us to attach dates to the name, although the decorative foliage in the borders recalls somewhat that of the Epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes (1407) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

ICONOGRAPHY: The Anastasis (without identifying inscription). The diminutive personification of Hades is shown beneath the broken gates of Hell, but the other scenographic elements of the iconography are reduced to a minimum.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 66, pl. CXXXIII; B. Rothenmund, *Byzantinische und russische Stickereien* (Munich, 1961), 30-1; M. Theocharis in *Treasures of Mount Athos*, 467, cat. no. 11.18.

5. Epigonation with Christ Anapeson (fig. 2.19)

LOCATION: Patmos, Monastic Treasury

DIMENSION: 40 x 42 cm

DATE: Late fourteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ Anapeson: the Virgin fans the sleeping Christ Emmanuel while an angel stands by, holding a vessel which contains the instruments of the Passion. Known in Russian iconography as Christ the `Unsleeping Eye.

ORNAMENT: A border of chiastic knots with leafy terminals link roundels bearing eight-pointed stars or Greek crosses. The entire background of the pictorial scene is couched in a diaper pattern in gold thread.

LITERATURE: G. Jacopi, `Cimeli del ricamo, della pittura e della toreutica nel tesoro del Monastero di Patmo', *Clara Rhodos VII* (1933), cat. no. 11, fig. 73; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 106, pl. 52; M. Theocharis, `Church Gold Embroideries', in A. Kominis (ed.), *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery* (Athens, 1988), 198; W. Woodfin in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 305, cat. no. 181.

6. Epigonation with the Anastasis (fig. A.3 (Plate 191))

LOCATION: Athens, Byzantine Museum, (Formerly Museum of Christian Archaeology and Art, Epigonation #1143 or 1145) (ex coll.

monastery of Gerontos of Euboia)

DIMENSIONS: 46.5 x 46.5 cm

DATE: Early fourteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Anastasis of Christ, inscribed in Greek. The scene is oriented to the diagonal of the piece, with the broken gates of Hell in the lowermost corner. Christ stands frontally, while lifting Adam from his grave with his right hand and holding a cross-standard (very poorly preserved) in his left. The halflength figure of Eve emerges from the tombs behind Adam, while the usual group of David, Solomon, and John the Forerunner appears opposite them.



Fig. A.3. Epigonation with the Anastasis. Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (T.714). Photo by Bruce White, image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

ORNAMENT: The ground around the figures is powdered with Greek

crosses inscribed in circles. A meandering vine-and-tendril motif occupies the border.

LITERATURE: Papas, *Messgewander*, 140; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 105, pl. 51; Lafontaine-Dosogne (ed.), *Splendeur de Byzance* 1982, 221, cat. no. B1; Athens, *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, p. 217-18, cat. no. 246; E. Papastavrou in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 304-5, cat. no. 180; *The World of the Byzantine Museum* (Athens, 2004), 342, cat. no. 335.

7. Epigonation with the Anastasis

LOCATION: Belgrade, National Museum

DIMENSIONS: 43 x 43 cm

DATE: Fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The scene is, as is usual, oriented to the diagonal axis of the epigonation. Christ, facing to his own right, grasps Adam by the hand as Eve looks on, along with the usual cast of prophets and souls of the righteous. Inscribed in Greek.

ORNAMENT: A border of stepped crosses of varying colour surrounds the central scene.

LITERATURE: Stojanović, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji*, 55-6, cat. no. 30, fig. 13; M. Corović-Ljubinković, *Primerak srednjovekovnog umetnickog veza Navedrenik u zbirci Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu*, *Muzeji* 6 (1951), 48-63.

8. Epigonation with the Anastasis

LOCATION: Ochrid, church of St Clement

DIMENSIONS: 38 x 38 cm

DATE: Fourteenth or early fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ, standing frontally in the centre of the composition atop the battered gates of Hell, grasps a cross in his right hand and reaches out to Adam with his left. The usual cast of Old Testament kings and prophets look on.

ORNAMENT: The background of the scene is filled with tendrils of foliage surrounding the inscription of the scene in Greek. Twining

vines in the border frame small floral motifs.

LITERATURE: Mirkovi , Crkveni umetnifki vez, 45, pl. XXIII.3 (as sixteenth century).

Epitrachelia

1. Epitrachelion of Metropolitan Anthimos (fig. 2.14, A.4)

LOCATION: Tismana, Romania, Monastic church (as of 1924)

DIMENSIONS: 11 x 153.5 (the epitrachelion has been cut down at the neck and lengthened at its ends).

DATE: On the basis of the associated epigonation (see epigonation No. 1, above) to c. 1380

ICONOGRAPHY: The Great Deesis. Along with the Epitrachelion of the Metropolitan Photios, the epitrachelion from Tismana presents the most complete version of the theme, although the central medallion, which must have shown the bust of Christ, is now lost. The two large medallions that once flanked that image are inscribed with the cruciform monograms for a(Pws Zw~» and a(Pws Xpta-roi `Light and Life' and `The Light of Christ shines upon all'. The forty pairs of small medallions contain the interceding figures of saints, each labelled with an inscription. Starting from the proper right, inside position, these show (row 1) the Mother of God (twice), Michael, and Gabriel, (2) John the Baptist, Peter, Symeon, Paul, (3) John, Matthew, James, Andrew, (4) Luke, James, Thomas, Philip, (5) Bartholomew, Autonomos, Simon, Ignatius, (6) Stephen, Mark, Timotheos, Bartholomew (sic), (7) Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzus, Basil, Athanasios, (8) Dionysios, Nicholas, Hierotheos, Gregory Thaumaturgos, (9) Spyridon, Leo the Pope, Blaise, Cyril, (10) Prochoros, Ananias, Thaddeus, Malachias, (11) Clement, Polyeuktos, Evodios, Karpos, (12) Antipas, Aristarchos, Trophimios, Poudios, (13) Melchizedek, Moses, Samuel, Aaron, (14) Elijah, Isaiah, Elisha, Jeremiah, (15) Daniel, Zachariah, Habakuk, Micah, (16) Theodore Stratelates, George, Theodore Tiron, Demetrios, (17) Prokopios, Artemios, Christophoros, Eustratios, (18) Menas, Paneteleimon, Niketas, Hermolaos, (19) Manuel, Kosmas, Tryphon, Damian, (20) Antonios, Euthymios, Paul of Thebes, Sabbas. From the above list it may be seen that the categories of saints include the group associated with the Incarnation (the Virgin, John the Forerunner, Symeon the priest), the archangels, the twelve apostles and evangelists, representatives of the seventy apostles, the holy bishops, patriarchs,

prophets, martyrs, and monastics.

ORNAMENT: Sprigs of vegetal ornament appear in the negative spaces left by the medallions along the edges of the stole. A flower-like motif consisting of eight interlaced loops of ribbon, with a leonine mask at the centre, ornaments the tail end of the stole. Below the latter motif, panels of ornament consisting of nine crosses in linked medallions, finished off by an oblong border with a vine rinceau.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 2-6, pl. I-IV, VI.



Fig. A.4. Epitrachelion of Metropolitan Anthimos, (detail). Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE, Paris.

2. So-called Epitrachelion of Photios (fig. 2.13 [Plate 10])

LOCATION: Moscow, Kremlin Museums, Inv. No. TK-6

DIMENSIONS: 153 x 34.5 cm (inclusive of later additions)

DATE: Last quarter of the fourteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The deesis is represented on the neck of the stole, with Christ blessing within a roundel, flanked by two other roundels with the crossed inscriptions OQL'/ZQH. The Virgin and John the Baptist are represented standing, facing inward on the front of the stole. Below them, eighty-eight small, intertwined roundels contain busts of saints grouped by class, each inscribed in Greek. Embroidered seraphim fill the interstices between the roundels. The stole is almost identical in style and iconography to that of Metropolitan Anthimos Kritopoulos of Tismana (1370-1389), published by Millet. Its association with Photios a tradition of long standing, and is certainly not ruled out by stylistic or historical factors. The frequently encountered assertion that it bears his monogram, however, is erroneous. **ORNAMENT:** Foliate scrolls appear behind the standing figures and in the interstices of the small medallions. The lower panels of ornament bear a flower-like motif consisting of eight irregular loops of ribbon interlaced around a central leonine mask. The stole has a later, applied border of pearl rinceau with silver-gilt ornamental plaques.

LITERATURE: Sawa, Archbishop of Tver and Kashin, Ukazatel; 17; A. Uspenskii, `Patriarshiaia riznitsa, 218, 249; A. N. Svirin, Drevnorusskoe shi'e (Moscow, 1963), 52; Pisarskaia, Pamiatniki vizantiiskovo iskusstva, 27-8, pl. LII-LV; A. V. Bank, Iskusstvo Vizantiii v sobraniiax SSSR 3 (Leningrad, 1977), 155, cat. no. 1005; Bank, Byzantine Art, 328-9, cat. no. 296; Mayasova, Medieval Pictorial Embroidery, 36-7, cat. no. 8; W. Woodfin and I. Vishnevskaja in Byzantium: Faith and Power, 307-8, cat. no. 183.

3. Epitrachelion with deesis and holy bishops

LOCATION: Belgrade, National Museum, Inv. No. 4268

DIMENSIONS: 150 x 25 cm

DATE: Fifteenth century. Excavated from the tomb of an eighteenth-century Metropolitan of Raska in the church of St Peter at Novi Pazar, the stole is based on the same sorts of Byzantine models that characterize fifteenth-century stoles surviving on Athos and in the monasteries of Romania. The exuberance of the foliate decoration, which invades the spaces of the figures themselves, can be compared with the epitrachelion in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (No. 26, below).

ICONOGRAPHY: Virgin and John the Baptist, SS Basil and John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian and Nicholas all framed under

arches. Inscribed in Greek.

LITERATURE: M. 'Arhijerejsko odejanije nepoznatog raskog mitropolitd, Zbornik radova Narodnog Muzeja 4 (Belgrade, 1964), 296-9, figs. 20, 22; D. Stojanovic-Gabricevic, 'Ispitivanje i ciscenje tekstilnog nalaza iz Petrove crkve u Novom Pazaru, Zbornik radova Narodnog Muzeja 4 (Belgrade, 1964), 308-11, figs. 26, 27; Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Mittelalterliche Kunst Serbiens (Berlin, 1970), 42, cat. no. 66; A. Stosic and D. Milosevic (eds.), Moravska Srbija-ljudi i dela (Krusevac, 1971), cat. no. 48; D. Stojanovic, 'Vez, in B. Radojkovic (ed.), Istorija primenjene umetnosti kod Srba (Belgrade, 1977), 326, figs. 15, 16; E. Zecevic in Byzantium: Faith and Power, 306, cat. no. 182 (as late fourteenth-early fifteenth century).

4. Epitrachelion with twelve apostles (fig. 1.12)

LOCATION: Eichstatt, Diozesanmuseum mounted as the pillar orphrey of the chasuble of St Willibald, Inv. No. DK 14

DIMENSIONS: Extant length 144 cm

DATE: Late twelfth - early thirteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Standing figures of Christ and the Virgin presented frontally in the top register, ten apostles under arches in succeeding registers, separated by broad bands of ornament. Greek inscriptions flank each figure above the arches.

ORNAMENT: The arches and internal details were picked out in pearl embroidery; relatively few of the pearls now remain. The pearled arches and columns of the arcades contrast with the leaf-form capitals in couched gold. The arcades under which the saints stand are separated by oblong panels, each with a pair of couched gold roundels or a pair of poised squares linked by a loop between them. The roundels contain stepped crosses and the squares Greek crosses at their centres, both executed in pearl embroidery, of which little remains. A band of ornament now mounted at the neck opening of the chasuble bears quatrefoils and the interlaced-C motif executed in gold couchwork and pearls. Stylistically, the stole is notable for the generous spacing of the arcades and the relatively ample proportion of the red ground silk left in reserve.

LITERATURE: Braun, Liturgische Gewandung, 188; Muller-Christensen, Sakrale Gewander des Mittelalters, 27, cat. no. 45, fig. 54-5; L. Von Wilckens, in H1. Willibald: Kiinder des Glaubens

(Eichstatt, 1987), 100-2, cat. no. B 3.5.; colour plate p. 50; eadem in *Die textilen Kiinste*, 184-5, fig. 206.

5. Epitrachelion with the Great Deesis

LOCATION: Patmos, monastery of St John the Theologian

DIMENSIONS: 139 x 24 cm

DATE: Second half of the fourteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ as high priest on the neck, followed by saints in rectangular panels: the Mother of God Orans with John the Forerunner, Peter and Paul, Gregory of Nazianzos and Basil, John Chrysostom and Nicholas.

ORNAMENT: Oblong panels with rinceaux separate the figural registers. Each vine is divided into three loops, with a number of variations. Some have three palmette flowers, some two animal protomes facing a central flower, and some a central lion mask flanked by profile animal heads. Near the neck is a pair of larger ornamental panels with elongated pate crosses at the centres, framed in turn within a rectangle and quatrefoil, with palmettes in the corners. The bottom ornamental panels show equal-armed pattee crosses framed in an eight-lobed medallion, with dragon-like beasts surrounding it. There is a further pair of ornamental panels in the register above, with a quincunx pattern of four crosses and a double-headed eagle at the centre. Striding eagles occupy the sides of the design, and fan-shaped plant growths fill the other interstices.

LITERATURE: Byzantine Art: An European Art, 482, cat. no. 592; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 42-4, pl. 31-4; M. Theocharis, 'Church Gold Embroideries', in *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery*, ed. Kominis (Athens, 1988), 192-3, figs. 8-9; Woodfin in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 308-9, cat. no. 184.

6. Epitrachelion of Matthew the Hieromonk

LOCATION: Sinai, monastery of St Catherine

DIMENSIONS: 152.5 x 25 cm

DATE: second half of the fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Old Testament Trinity on neck; eighteen feast scenes in roundels: Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Presentation, Raising of

Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Communion of the Apostles (twice, with bread and wine, respectively), Washing of the Feet, Carrying of the Cross, Crucifixion, Deposition, Threnos, Anastasis, Doubting of Thomas, Ascension, Pentecost, Transfiguration.

NOTES: The compositions of the scenes are more balanced and assured than the other stoles with feasts in roundels, most of which are associated with the Moldavian rulers of the fifteenth century. The ornament is nearly identical to a group of stoles linked to Joachim of Drama (Patriarch of Constantinople 1498-1502 and 1504-1505) and other officials of the Patriarchate.

LITERATURE: M. Theocharis in Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine, ed. K. Manafis (Athens, 1990), 238-9, 252, fig. 13. W. Woodfin in R. Nelson (ed.), Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons of Sinai, 227-8, cat. no. 41.

7. Epitrachelion from the monastery of Zoodochos Pigi, Andros

LOCATION: Athens, Byzantine Museum, BXM 1697

DIMENSIONS: 140 x 25 cm

DATE: Fifteenth, or, more likely, sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Fifteen medallions with images of Christ (?) and saints. The first pair of images on the front of the stole shows St Symeon (?) and St John the Baptist, while the next pair down shows the Annunciation (Gabriel at proper right and the Virgin on the left). Next appear SS Peter and Paul, St Gregory the Theologian and St John Chrysostom, followed by six apostles. LITERATURE: The World of the Byzantine Museum, 342, cat. no. 336.

8. Epitrachelion with Annunciation and holy bishops (fig. A.5 [Plate 201])

LOCATION: Bucharest, National Fine Arts Museum of Romania (From monastery of Tismana)

DIMENSIONS: 141 x 27.5 cm

DATE: C. 1500

ICONOGRAPHY: Bishop saints within roundels (4) and under arches (4), large-scale Annunciation spanning sides of stole just below the neck. Inscribed in Greek.

NOTES: The weighty rendering of the Virgin and Archangel remarkably simulates the jagged folds and oval silhouettes favoured by artists of the early Palaiologan period. Despite its Wallachian provenance, the stole is traditionally ascribed to a Serbian workshop.



Fig. A.5. Annunciation (detail of epitachelion from Tismana). Photo: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

LITERATURE: Studii asupra tezaurului restituit din URSS (Bucharest, 1958), 123, figs. 5, 7, 8; Byzantine Art: An European Art, 481, cat. no. 590; Edinburgh, Rumanian Art Treasures (1965), 27, cat. no. 25; Roumanie: Tresors d'art (Neuchatel, 1968), 76; 1. Barnea, O. Iliescu, C. Nicolescu, Cultura bizantina in Romania (Bucharest, 1971), 127-8, cat. no. 87; Utrecht, Byzantijnse Kunst uit Roemenie, 99-100, cat. no. 49.

9. Epitachelion of Alexander the Good (Alexandru cel Bun)

LOCATION: Formerly Russian monastery of Staraia Ladoga, later museum of St Alexander Nevskii in St Petersburg; presumed lost since the Second World War.

DIMENSIONS: Exact dimensions unknown

DATE: Between 1421 and 1431, based on the marriage and death dates of the depicted monarchs

ICONOGRAPHY: Portraits of the donors, Alexander the Good and his wife Marina, inscribed respectively: «Iw(avv~c) AAE~av5pov au70K[pa]TOJS Trams Mo18ogAaXiac K(at) TrapaOaAaooias» (John Alexander, Voivode and Autocrat of all Moldovlacheia and the Coastlands), and < < Mapiva alroKparwp5aa [recte avTOKpaTopLaaa] 7raa3c Mo18o/EkaXiac at TrapaOalaaaias» (Marina, Autocratorissa of all Moldovlacheia and the Coastlands). The total number and selection of scenes is unknown, but the sole extant photograph shows the lower pair of roundels with the Ascension of Christ and the Pentecost (the latter with the personification of Kosmos). A figure emerging from a tomb, just discernable at the upper edge of the photograph, indicates that the Anastasis was represented, as would be expected. The smaller, interstitial medallions show prophets holding scrolls, while the margins of the stole contain ornament of feline heads emerging from a heart-shaped knot interlace.

LITERATURE: Millet, Broderies, 6-7, pl. VIII; I. Stefanescu, L'evolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie (Paris, 1928), 50; N. Iorga, l'art roumain (Paris, 1922), 48-9.

10. Epitachelion with feasts of Christ from Vatopaidi (fig. 2.4 [Plate 4])

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Holy Monastery of Vatopaidi

DIMENSIONS: 143.5 x 27.5 cm

DATE: Early fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: On the neck, the image of Christ the High Priest. In the sixteen remaining medallions are shown: the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Scourging, Christ led to the Crucifixion, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Doubting of Thomas, Women at the Tomb, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Dormition of the Virgin. Fields of geometric ornament complete the stole at the ends. The smaller, interstitial medallions contain crosses with rays, while an interlaced-dragon motif occupies the margins of the stole.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 6-13, pl. V, IX-XII. M. Theocharis in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi*, 437-8.

11. Epitrachelion with feasts from the monastery of Bistrita

LOCATION: Bucharest, National Museum of the History of Romania, formerly Bistrita Monastery, Moldavia

DIMENSIONS: 149 x 23 cm

DATE: First half of fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ is shown on the neck; the other sixteen medallions show the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Christ led to the Crucifixion, Anastasis, Crucifixion, Women at the Tomb, Christ Rising from the Tomb, Doubting of Thomas, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Dormition of the Virgin. Rectangular fields of vegetal ornament complete the ends of the stole. Crosses appear in the small medallions, and interlaced dragons in the margins of the stole.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 6-13; pl. V, VI, XIII-XVII; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 99-100, pl. 29, 30.

12. Epitrachelion with feasts from the monastery of Putna (fig. A.6)

LOCATION: Bucovina, Romania, monastery of Putna Inv. No. 39 (olim 235; 558)

DIMENSIONS: 143.5 x 24 cm

DATE: Before 1496

ICONOGRAPHY: The medallion on the neck shows the Trinity in the guise of the three angelic visitors to Abraham. Sixteen medallions on the length of the stole depict scenes from the Feast Cycle: the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Agony in the Garden, Christ led to the Crucifixion, Scourging, Lamentation at the Tomb, Crucifixion, Dormition of the Virgin, Anastasis, and Pentecost. The final two medallions contain portraits of Stephen the Great and Alexander the Good, inscribed respectively aCTe/4a/Hb / Bo/eso/Aa» (Stephen the Voivode), and aAne/~aH/ Apb c/(bI)Hb CT/e4axa / BoeBO4(bI)» (Alexander, son of Stephen the Voivode). ORNAMENT: The roundels containing the scenes and figures branch at the four corners into leafy tendrils. The narrow bands separating one register from the next are articulated with a variety of ornament, including running vines, plaited ribbons, guilloche, and rosettes set between S-shaped tendrils. The rectangular fields at the end of the stole contain a network of geometric ornament consisting of hatched lines, including quasi-heraldic symbols associated with the Palaiologan dynasty.



Fig. A.6. Portraits of Stephen the Great and Alexander the Good, (detail of an epitrachelion). Monastery of Putna. From Millet, *Broderies*, pl. XXII.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 6-13; pl. V, VII, XVIII-XXII; O. Tafrali, *Le tresor byzantin et roumain de Poutna* (Paris, 1925), 96; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 100-1, pl. 35-6; Paradais, Comori, 307-12, cat. no. 42.

13. Epitrachelion with trios of saints in medallions from the Great Lavra

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of the Great Lavra,
epitrachelion 1

DIMENSIONS: 132 x 23 cm

DATE: End of the fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: On the neck, the image of the Trinity is flanked by the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin of the Annunciation. The latter pair of roundels is inscribed with the words of the Angelic salutation, αΧαίε ΚΕΧαπL7wttEv7 ο Κ(upto)s μΕ-ra aou» (Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you) and the Virgin's response, αι8ou ~ 8o6aq Κ(vpιο)v yEvocro μoL Kara TO p~aa oou» (Behold the handmaid of the Lord, let it be to me according to your word). The sixteen remaining medallions are composed of groups of three busts of saints each. The first pair of roundels consists of prophets, including John the Baptist; the second and third pair contain apostles. The fourth and fifth pairs of medallions contain images of bishops, including the recently canonized Gregory Palamas (commemorated officially from 1368). The next two pairs of medallions present twelve busts of martyrs, while the final pair present monastic saints. The selection of saints on the epitrachelion from the Great Lavra typifies the group of stoles of this type, so the list may be given once, although there are minor variations from example to example. Reading from top to bottom, proper right side first:

1. David with Moses and Daniel. John the Forerunner with Zachariah and Isaiah.
2. Paul with John and Luke. Peter with Mathew and Mark.
3. Andrew with Bartholomew and James. Simon with Philip and Thomas.
4. Athanasios with Cyril and Dionysios. John Chysostom with Basil and Gregory Nazianzos.
5. Cyprian with Kallistos and Gregory Palamas. Nicholas with Spyridon and John the Merciful.
6. George with Theodore Stratilates and Theodore Tiron. Demetrios with Prokopios and Nestor.
7. James of Persia with Eustathios and Artemios. Eustrathios with Arethas and Merkourios.

8. John of Damascus with Stephen the Younger and Kosmas. Anthony with Onouphrios and Euthemios.

ORNAMENT: The rectangular fields of ornament at the foot of the stole consist off interlaced quatrefoils, with octagons at their centres containing crosses pattees. The smaller, roughly square areas formed by the interstices of the interlace contain Hercules knots, a hatched design widely considered to be a Palaiologan emblem,' and double-headed eagles.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 13-18, pl. XXIII-XXV. C. Vafeiades, 'Epitrachelia with Three-Figure Medallions from Mount Athos, *Chronological Topics*, CA 51 (2003/2004), 159-66, fig. 1.

14. Epitrachelion with trios of saints in medallions
from the monastery of Sveta Trojica

LOCATION: Near Pljevlja, Serbia, Sveta Trojica
Monastery

DIMENSIONS: 139 x 22 cm

DATE: Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Apart from the substitution of a bust of Christ Pantocrator for the Trinity on the neck, largely identical to the epitrachlion from the Great Lavra.

ORNAMENT: The field of ornament is similar to that on the stole from the Great Lavra, again with the double-headed eagles and hatched motifs. The position occupied by the knots on the Lavra stole here contains a pair of cruciform monograms, decipherable as a0(e)o7(i)μ(rj)lμ(o)v(a)X~j» (the pious nun).



Fig. A.7. Epitrachelion from Stavronikita Monastery, Mt. Athos, (detail). From Millet, *Broderies*, pl. XXX.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 13-15, 17, pl. XXVI-XXIX; Stojanovk, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji*, 46, cat. no. 10, fig.6; Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnicki vez*, 40, pl. XXI.3; Vafeiades, *Epitrachelia*, 166, fig. 18.

15. Epitrachelion with trios of saints in medallions from the monastery of Stavronikita (fig. A.7)

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Stavronikita Monastery, epitrachelion 1

DIMENSIONS: 135 x 25 cm

DATE: End of the fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The Holy Trinity on the neck of the stole, flanked by the Annunciation divided between two roundels. The selection and arrangement of saints is similar to the epitrachelion from the Great Lavra, No. 13, above.

ORNAMENT: Similar to the Lavra epitrachelion, but with a second pair of double-headed eagles in lieu of the Hercules knot motifs.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 13-18, pl. XXX, XXXII-XXXIII; Maria Theocharis in *Stavronikita Monastery: History Icons-Embroideries*, ed. S. Papadopoulos (Athens, 1974), 149-51, pl. 62-5; Vafeiades, *Epitrachelia*, 159-66, figs. 6, 7.

16. Epitrachelion with trios of saints in medallions, of Demetrios Rarianos

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, epitrachelion 1

DIMENSIONS: 144 x 25 cm

DATE: End of fifteenth or beginning of sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Similar to the Stavronikita epitrachelion, above.

ORNAMENT: Inscribed in a band between the lowermost medallions and the fields of ornament: αδ5Fti~rpioc iepeus Paptavos [or possibly Baptavos] Kai μ(E)yac 7~s MEya15c -rou O(Eo)u'EKK15aias» (Demetrios Rarianos, Priest and Great Sacristan of the Great Church of God). The ornamental motifs similar to those of the stole from the Great Lavra.

LITERATURE: Kondakov, *Pamiatniki no Afone*, 254, fig. 93; Millet, *Broderies*, 13-18, pl. V, XXXI, XXXIV; Vafeiades, *Epitrachelid*, 159-66,

figs. 8-11.

17. Epitrachelion with trios of saints in medallions, of
Joachim Synkellos

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of the Great Lavra

DIMENSIONS: 132 x 25 cm

DATE: Before c. 1500, by analogy to the epitrachelion of Joachim of
Drama, below

ICONOGRAPHY: Similar to the selection of saints on the epitrachelion
from the Great Lavra.

ORNAMENT: Inscribed in a band between the lowest register of saints
and the field of ornament: α'Ιωακείμ ιεπο(ρ)οῦ Χ(α) Τρ(ε)υπα-
ν(ο)ί Χ(α) οὐγγεᾶ Ἀβ(α) 7ijs (ΜΕΥCΑΩ) ΕΚΚΑ5ai(ac)» (Of Ioachim the
hieromonk and confessor and synkellos of the Great Church). Similar
ornamental motifs to those on the Lavra epitrachelion, but with the
addition of a narrow strip of interlaced ornament below the main field
of quatrefoils.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 13-18; pl. XXXV; Vafeiades,
`Epitrachelid, 159-66, fig. 5.

18. Epitrachelion with trios of saints in medallions, of Joachim
of Drama

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of the Great Lavra

DIMENSIONS: 132 x 25 cm

DATE: The inscription names Ioachim, bishop of the city of Drama in
Thrace. He was elevated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in
1498; the stole must either antedate his ascent to the patriarchal
throne or date from the time between his deposition in 1502 and his
restoration to the see of Constantinople in 1504.

ICONOGRAPHY: Similar selection of saints to Epitrachelion 1 of the
Great Lavra.



Fig. A.8. Epitrachelion [St Peter] (detail). Monastery of Dobrovat, National Museum of Art Bucharest. Photo: National Museum of art of Romania, Bucharest.

ORNAMENT: Similar interlace of quatrefoils as on Epitrachelion 1 of the Great Lavra, although with eight-petalled flowers in place of the crosses. The 'heraldic' motifs are missing or simplified to the point of illegibility. The fields of ornament are cut horizontally across their centre by a narrow band in reserve, bearing the inscription: α'Ιωακείμ apXΛεpEOV (sic) dpαυας» (of Joachim, bishop of Drama).

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 13-14, pls. XXX.2, XXXVI-XXXVII; Vafeiades, *Epitrachelia*, 159-66, figs. 3-4.

19. Epitrachelion with Deesis and twelve apostles, Stephen the Great and Maria (fig. A.8 [Plate 21])

LOCATION: Bucharest, National Fine Arts Museum of Romania, Inv. No. 15895/B 250, formerly in monastery of Dobroval

DIMENSIONS: 147 x 22 cm

DATE: Based on the portraits of Stephen the Great and his consort Maria, dated towards 1500 by Millet

ICONOGRAPHY: The figures are arranged as a Great Deesis. The central subject on the neck of the stole is a bust of Christ, who wears antique dress and holds a closed Gospel book. The other roundels, recorded in photographs, show the Virgin and John the Baptist, followed by the Apostles Peter, Paul, Matthew, John, Mark, Luke, Andrew, Simon, James, Batholemew, and Philip. The lowest register bears the standing figures of Maria and Stephen the Great under arches. The latter pair are inscribed in Greek: Κυρα Μαρια and 'Ιο (av's) L'-re~avo(c) (The Lady Maria, John Stephen the Voivode).

ORNAMENT: The interstices between the eight-lobed medallions are filled with rigid palmettes, while the terminal panels of ornament, clearly of Turkish inspiration, are free and asymmetrical arrangements of scrolling vines with palmettes terminating the branches.

LITERATURE: N. Iorga, *Les arts mineurs en roumanie* (Bucharest, 1936), II, 20, fig. 79; Millet, *Broderies*, 18-19, 21; ~tefanescu, *Broderiile*, 485, fig. 5, 6; *Cultura moldoveneasca in timpul lui Stefan cel Mare* (Bucharest, 1964), 485-6, fig. 4, 5; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 10 1-2, pl. 40, 41; Musicescu, *Brodereia*, 35-6, cat. no. 26; Utrecht, *Museum Catharijneconvent, Byzantijnse Kunst uit Roemenie* (Utrecht, 1994), 98, cat. no. 48; A. Lazarescu in *Arta din Moldova de la y tefan cel Mare la Movilefti* (Bucharest, 1999), 160, cat. no. 36.

20. Epitrachelion with individual saints in roundels

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Esphigmenou, epitrachelion 1

DIMENSIONS: 130 x 23 cm

DATE: Late fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The Great Deesis, with the image of Christ on the neck and the usual figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist; SS Peter and Paul; the Evangelists John, Mark, Luke, and Matthew; the holy bishops Basil, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Nicholas; the warrior martyrs Demetrios, George, Theodore Stratelates, Theodore Tiron; and the physician martyrs Cosmas and Damian.

ORNAMENT: Confronted animals emerging from heart-shaped interlace occupy the interstices between the medallions. The oblong, ornamental fields at the ends of the epitrachelion are filled with strongly stylized palmettes in a cruciform arrangement, with lighter tendrils of foliage branching in the corners between them.

LITERATURE: N. P. Kondakov, *Pamiatniki khristianskago iskusstva na Afone* (St Petersburg, 1902), 252-3, fig. 92; Millet, *Broderies*, 18-20; pl. XXXVIII-XL.

21. Epitrachelion with individual saints in roundels

LOCATION: Athens, Byzantine Museum, Soc. Christian Archaeology No. 5089

DIMENSIONS: 137 x 26 cm (including modern fringe)

DATE: End of the fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth

ICONOGRAPHY: The neck bears the image of the enthroned Christ Emmanuel. In a departure from the customary selection of figures, the first pair of medallions bears Zechariah and John the Baptist, the second pair the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin. Furthermore, pairs of holy bishops alternate with pairs of apostles, thus: Peter and Paul, Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostom, John and Matthew, Basil and Nicholas, Luke and Mark.

ORNAMENT: The interstices between the medallions are filled with confronted birds beasts linked by interlace ornament alternately in the form of a figure eight. The terminal fields of ornament strongly resemble those found on the stoles with three-figured medallions,

although in this case, motifs such as the double-headed eagle are reduced to abstract assemblages of embroidered lines.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 18-20, pl. XLL2; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 102-3; pl. 44.



Fig. A.9. Epitrachelion from the Monastery of Rila. Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE, Paris.

22. Epitrachelion with individual saints in medallions

LOCATION: Near Pljevalja, Serbia, Sveta Trojica, epitrachelion 2

DIMENSIONS: 140 x 21 cm

DATE: End of fifteenth century or beginning of sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The half-length figure of the blessing Christ in episcopal vestments (omophorion and sakkos) appears on the neck. The subsidiary figures of the Great Deesis are as follows: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner; the apostles: Peter, Paul, Luke, Matthew, Mark, and John; the holy bishops: John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos, Nicholas, Athanasios, and Spyridon; and the soldier martyrs Demetrios and George.

ORNAMENT: The figural medallions are linked by small medallions containing alternately blossoms and stars. The interstices between the medallions are filled with branching foliate motifs terminating in trefoil buds. The fields of ornament at the bottom of the stole consist of a net-like interlace of overlapping wavy lines.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 18-21, pl. XLI, XLII; Stojanovi , *Umetnički vez u Srbiji*, 50-1, cat. no. 19, fig. 14; Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnički vez*, 40, pl. XXL3.

23. Epitrachelion with individual saints in medallions (fig. A.9)

LOCATION: Bulgaria, Rila Monastery, epitrachelion 1.

DIMENSIONS: 132 x 24 cm

DATE: End of fifteenth century or beginning of sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ appears in the medallion on the neck, accompanied by the figures of the Great Deesis: the Mother of God, John the Forerunner, Peter, Paul, Luke, Matthew, Mark, John, Andrew, Simon, Bartholomew, James, Thomas, Philip, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil, and Nicholas.

ORNAMENT: The large medallions are separated, not by the usual small circular medallions, but by poised squares with crosses at their centres. These are continuous with the lines of interlace that fill the interstices between the figural medallions. The terminals of the interlace are not actually zoomorphic, but resemble abstracted versions of the bird or dragon heads that appear on others of the

stoles. The ornamental fields at the ends of the stole are diapered with a pattern of interlaced four-pointed stars, with florets occupying the centres of the resulting eight pointed fields. The debt to Ottoman (and earlier Islamic) styles of geometric interlace is obvious.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 18-21, pl. XLI, XLIII.

24. Epitrachelion with standing saints under arcades

LOCATION: Moldavia, Romania, monastery of Putna, Inv. no. 36 (olim237; 554)

DIMENSIONS: 140 x 22 cm

DATE: Dated by inscription to 15 June 1469. According to Millet, the date of dedication corresponds to the completion of the initial construction of the monastery of Putna, begun in 1466 and consecrated in 1470. This epitrachelion, as well as another of Byzantine manufacture (No. 31, below), must have survived the devastating fire in the monastery of Putna during Holy Week of 1484.¹¹ Despite the stole's royal patronage, the quality of the draughtsmanship in the embroidery is noticeably inferior to other examples of similar date.

ICONOGRAPHY: On the neck, the figure of Christ in episcopal vestments appears between medallions with the archangels Gabriel and Michael. Christ appears to wear the polystaurion phelonion in lieu of the sakkos that is more common in such compositions. The saints, with Greek inscriptions, appear under the arches on the front of the stole: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, Peter and Paul, John Chrysostom and Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos and Athanasios, Cyril and Nicholas, Demetrios and George.

INSCRIBED: The lowermost panels of the stole are inscribed in Slavonic characters: olco(aHHb) CTe4aH-b BoeBoAa roCHOAapb 3eMAI4 MonAaBcKOH C'bTBOpLI cell eHiTpax(Linb) c11o3, M \$(ceu)Tb ioyHia ie A(e)HTb» (Voivode John Stephen, lord of the Land of Moldavia, made this epitrachelion in 6977 (1469), the fifteenth day of June).

ORNAMENT: The arches are cusped, resulting in a slightly trefoil effect, and rest on capitals in the form of lion masks. The columns themselves are reduced to mere lines. The zones of ornament between the registers of saints present pairs of S-shaped motifs alternating with rows of poised squares.

LITERATURE: O. Tafrali, Poutna, 60, cat. no. 98, pl. I; Millet, Broderies, 24-5, 27, pl. XLIV, XLVI-XLVIII; Johnstone, Byzantine Tradition, 84, 100, figs. 35-6; Musicescu, La broderie medievale roumaine, 36-7, cat. no. 13, figs. 23-4; Paradais, Comori, 303-6, cat. no. 41.

5. Epitrachelion with standing saints under arches

LOCATION: Romania, monastery of Putna, Inv. No. 40 (olim 239a; 557)

DIMENSIONS: 140 x 24 cm

DATE: Late fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: On the neck, the figure of Christ in episcopal vestments, with his garment very clearly represented as a phelonion rather than a sakkos, with the omophorion worn over it. The archangels Gabriel and Michael flank him. The saints, with Greek inscriptions, appear under the arches on the front of the stole: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, Peter and Paul, John Chrysostom and Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos and Nicholas, Spyridon and Athanasios, George and Demetrios.

INSCRIPTION: Inscribed in Slavonic characters: < <Iw(aHHb) CTe4axb r(ocno)> xa Mapim» (The Voivode John Stephen and the Lady Maria).

ORNAMENT: The arcades feature round arches, with large, acanthus-like leaves springing from the column capitals to balance the arches. Pairs of S-shaped vegetal motifs occupy the spaces between the registers of arcades.

LITERATURE: Tafrali, Poutna, 61, cat. no. 100, pl. LI; Millet, Broderies, 24-5, 27, pl. XLV-XLVII, XLIX; Paradais, Comori, 298-301, cat. no. 39.

26. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, No. 686, ex. coll. Society of Christian Archaeology, No. 1397

DIMENSIONS: Not recorded

DATE: Late fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Great Deesis with the blessing Christ in episcopal vestments (sakkos and omophorion) at the centre. In the ranks following, a pair of half-length saints in roundels is followed by a pair of saints (consistently holy bishops) standing under arches. Thus the Mother of God and John the Forerunner in roundels are followed by the standing figures of John Chrysostom and Basil; John and Mark in roundels are followed by Gregory of Nazianzos and Athanasios under arcades; Luke and Matthew appear above the standing bishops Nicholas and Cyril.

ORNAMENT: The isolated roundel with Christ as High Priest appears in a square frame, with foliate tendrils filling the triangular spaces at its corners. Rectangular fields of ornament occupy the remainder of the neck of the stole. These are divided into compartments by twining ribbons that form [roundels containing stars and blossoms, while the more or less octagonal spaces between them are filled with swastikas and a 'heraldic' hatched motif, like two angular C's back to back, with Palaiologan associations.](#)⁹ The figural roundels and arcades are formed as a running ribbon that frames both sets of figures, interrupted by the stylized, clover-leaf capitals and the stepped bases of the columns. The arches are strongly cusped and come to an ogee point at the tops. The interlaced heart motif occupies the spaces in the upper corners of the roundels, while a variety of foliate motifs, both symmetrical and asymmetrical, occupy the spandrels of the arcades. Registers are separated with narrow strips bearing alternately a guilloche band and variants on a plaited ribbon motif. The terminal panels of ornament are treated as a network of diagonal lines, with small blossoms marking their intersections. The poised squares formed by these lines contain motifs including the swastika, the fleur-de-lys, and the hatched heraldic motif mentioned above. The horror vacui aesthetic extends even to the figural areas: fragments of vine scrolls invade the negative space around the standing bishops and encroach on the inscriptions in the medallions.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 26-8, pl. L-LI.

27. Epitrachelion with saints under arches (fig. 5.12)

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Chilandar

DIMENSIONS: 155 x 20 cm

DATE: End of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ the High Priest, clad in sakkos and

omophorion, appears in the roundel on the neck. The remaining saints of the Great Deesis stand under arches: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, Peter and Paul, Basil and John Chrysostom, Athanasios and Gregory of Nazianzos, Nicholas and Spyridon.

ORNAMENT: The arcades under which the saints stand consist of cusped, ogee arches. Small sprays of tendrils, with florets at the centres, occupy their spandrels. The column capitals are articulated in the form of the miniscule Byzantine letter t, while the column shafts sit on high, stepped bases. Variations on knotted, twined, or plaited ribbons fill the narrow rectangles between the registers. The terminal fields of embroidery feature geometric interlace of Islamic inspiration, similar to that found on the epitrachelion from Rila Monastery (No. 23, above).

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 26-8, pl. L, LIII; L. Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnicki vez* (Belgrade, 1940), 39, pl. XXL1; D. Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji od XIV do XIX veka* (Belgrade, 1959), 51-2, cat. no. 21; M. Theocharis in *Treasures of Mount Athos*, 457, cat. no. 11.9.

28. Epitrachelion with saints under arches and feasts of Christ

LOCATION: Patmos, monastery of St John the Theologian

DIMENSIONS: Not recorded; the proper right side has been cut down at its end

DATE: Late fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Feasts of Christ in square panels alternate with pairs of holy bishops framed under arches. From the top of the stole on the proper left side appear: the Annunciation, SS Basil and John Chrysostom, the Presentation of Christ, SS Athanasios and Hierotheos, the Baptism of Christ, SS Spyridon and Nicholas, the Entry into Jerusalem, SS Cyril of Alexandria and James, and the Anastasis. On the proper right side are shown: the Nativity of Christ, SS Gregory and John the Merciful, the Transfiguration, SS Cyprian and Arsenios, the Raising of Lazarus, SS Dorotheos and Gregory, the Crucifixion, SS Epiphanius and Germanos, and the Pentecost.

INSCRIBED: Above the ornamental field of the side preserved to its full length: αΚαΑiarou iepoμovcX(ou)», `of Kalistos the hieromonk.

ORNAMENT: The saints stand under trefoil arches with pointed tops, supported on spiral-twisted columns. A variety of interlace and stepped patterns separate the pictorial registers. The terminal field of

ornament (one survives) bears swastika-like motifs framed in an overall diamond lattice. The borders of the stole feature alternating chiastic and rotated-S motifs.

LITERATURE: M. Theocharis in *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery*, 193, fig. 10.

29. Epitrachelion with saints under arcades (fig. A.10 [Plate 22])

LOCATION: Originally given to the Wallachian monastery of Govora, it was in Russia at the time of Millet's publication. Now in Bucharest, National Museum of Art.

DIMENSIONS: 127 cm long

DATE: Dated by inscription to the reign of Radul the Great (1495-1508). The monastic church of Govora was dedicated in 1492; it is likely that the gift was made shortly after Radul's accession as voivode. A near copy of this epitrachelion was presented to the monastery of Bistrita by Barbul, Ban of Craiova (southern Wallachia). The inscription on the latter stole, dated 7029 (1520-21), spells the ruler's name `Mparpul, an error likely to have been made by a native speaker of Greek.¹⁰ Given the similarities in ornamental vocabulary to the group of stoles with titles connected to the Constantinople patriarchate, it is likely that the Govora epitrachelion was made by a workshop in the Ottoman capital.



Fig. A.10. Epitrachelion from the Monastery of Govora. Photo: National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ the High Priest, clad in sakkos and omophorion, appears in the roundel on the neck. The remaining saints of the Great Deesis stand under arches: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, Peter and Paul, Basil and John Chrysostom, Athanasios and Gregory of Nazianzos, Nicholas and Spyridon.

INSCRIBED: aCb eneTpaxEi(A) c(b)TBOPH Iw(aHHb) Pa4oynb BoeBO(4)a MoxacTHpoy FoBop'B» (The Voivode John Radul made this epitachelion for the monastery of Govora).

ORNAMENT: The arcades under which the saints stand consist of cusped, ogee arches. The spandrels are filled with the interlaced heart motif. Variations on knotted, twined, or plaited ribbons fill the narrow rectangles between the registers. The terminal fields of embroidery feature geometric interlace of Islamic inspiration, similar to that found on the epitachelia from the monasteries of Chilandar and Rila (Nos. 27 and 23, above).

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 26-8, pl. LII.

30. Epitachelion of Dositheos the Hieromonk (fig. 2.12)

LOCATION: Athens, Byzantine Museum, Inv. No. 685

DIMENSIONS: 147 x 22 cm

DATE: The style of the figures can be linked to those on the embroidered *podea* with the Crucifixion, donated by Progonos Sguouros at Ochrid in 1295.¹¹ More generally, the draughtsmanship and the slightly heavy, thick-waisted profiles of the figures fit within the stylistic currents of the early Palaiologan period. A date in the first quarter of the fourteenth century may be suggested.

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ is represented on the neck in the pose and dress of the Pantokrator, flanked with medallions bearing the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. The other figures of the Great Deesis appear standing under arches: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, John Chrysostom and Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos and Athanasios, Nicholas and Cyril, Demetrios and George. All the standing figures save for the martyrs Demetrios and George hold inscribed scrolls, a few of which remain partially legible, in spite of heavy wear.

INSCRIBED: The letters and ligatures in the corners of the ornamental panels may be resolved to read: ad(o)o(t)O(E)ou iep(o)μ(o)v(a)X(ou),»

of Dositheos, the hieromonk. The medallion around the half-figure of Christ on the neck of the stole bears an inscription from Matthew 27: 2: < < [Kai 89oav-rES au-rov d'r~yayov] Kai []7]LAd-rw -rw ~yeyov» ([And they brought him bound], and delivered him to (Pontius) Pilate the governor). There are also legible inscriptions on the scrolls held by several of the standing figures. The Mother of God's scroll bears the words: aiEeaL (7~s ons (Receive [your mother's] prayer) St Cyril's scroll reads: a`0 Euao[ydv -roes Euaoyod]v[ras a]E [KupLE, <cai a]yt[a~wv...],> > (0 Lord, who blesses those who bless you and sanctifies ...) (the incipit of the Prayer behind the Ambo in the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom).

ORNAMENT: The arches and supporting columns are articulated as double lines, broken at the springing of the arches by lion-head form capitals and supported on stepped bases. The spandrels of the arches are filled with symmetrical tendril motifs. The bands of ornament between the registers are conceived of as a series of alternately larger and smaller canted squares, the larger containing crosses, and the smaller terminating at the upper and lower corners in a pair of budding tendrils. The large medallions at the ends of the stole, each containing a Greek cross in the centre, are filled with an eight-sided arabesque.

LITERATURE: Millet, Broderies, 29-30, pl. LIV-LV.

31. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Romania, monastery of Putna, Inv. No. 37 (olim 238; 561a)

DIMENSIONS: 142 x 22 cm

DATE: Perhaps fourteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The neck bears a medallion image of Christ Pantokrator between two archangels. The figures of the Great Deesis appear under arches: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, Peter and Paul, John Chrysostom and Basil, Athanasios and Gregory of Nazianzos, George and Demetrios. The saints are labelled in Greek.

INSCRIBED: St John Chrysostom holds a scroll inscribed with the incipit of the Prothesis prayer: `0 D(EW)S ~juwv o -ro(v oupdvtov Ip-rov), (God, our God, the heavenly bread ...) St Basil's scroll bears the incipit to the Prayer of the Cheroubikon: Ou8Eis ci~toc TOJV avv8E8E(μ€Vwv) ... (No one is worthy who is bound ...) Very short

fragments of text are legible on the scrolls of Saints Athanasios (67rotEi 7076V...) and Gregory (o -r?t dya[06r'q-n]).

ORNAMENT: The arcades are articulated similarly to those on the epitachelion of Dositheos, although the execution is noticeably less fine. In the case of the Putna stole, the spandrels of the arches are unadorned. The same poised square motif divides the registers as on the stole of Dositheos. The ornament at the end of the stole consists of square fields of ornament, divided into compartments by intertwined ribbons. The negative space is filled with tightly interlaced palmettes.

LITERATURE: Tafrali, Poutna, 61, cat. no. 99, pl. L; Millet, *Broderies*, 29-31, pl. LVI-LX; Paradais, Comori, 291-4, cat. no. 36.

32. Epitachelion with saints under arches.

LOCATION: Romania, monastery of Putna, Inv. No. 38 (olim 241; 562b)

DIMENSIONS: 140 x 23 cm

DATE: End of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: A nearly exact copy of the Putna epitachelion (Putna, Inv. No. 37), above, although saints' names are inscribed in Slavonic and their scrolls are displayed blank. The image of Christ on the neck, although it shares the same costume as that depicted on the model, shows him as the young Emmanuel rather than as the bearded Pantokrator.

ORNAMENT: The arcades and ornaments imitate the earlier model of Putna Epitachelion 99, but are greatly simplified. The terminal fields of embroidery substitute a lattice of straight lines for the curving interlace of the model, while the palmettes disappear entirely.

LITERATURE: Tafrali, Poutna, 62-2, cat. no. 103, pl. LI; Millet, *Broderies*, 29-30, pl. LVI-LIX; Paradais, Comori, 296-8, cat. no. 38.

33. Epitachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Monastery of Dionysiou, epitachelion 2

DIMENSIONS: A fragment 126 x 11.5 cm, sewn together with another stole to form an orarion

DATE: Fourteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The neck of the epitachelion, which probably represented Christ between archangels (cf. the epitachelion of Dositheos in Athens, No. 30 above), is lost. The other figures of the Great Deesis appear standing under arches: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, John Chrysostom and Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos and Athanasios, Nicholas and Cyril, Demetrios and George. All the saints' inscriptions are in Greek.

INSCRIBED: The Mother of God's scroll reads: «QEeat OE7atc [recte: 8E7tobv] T7ts μijrpoc ouKTippwv» (Receive the prayer of your mother, o merciful one). John the Forerunner: <ME-ravoEL-rE ij77WE1 yap ~ (3aatAEia -ru,v oupavwv» (Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand) (Matthew 3: 2). St John Chysostom's scroll bears the prayer of the Prothesis: o O(EO)s uμwv [recte ~ttiww] o -ro(v oupciviov dp-rov) (God, our God, the heavenly bread). St Basil's scroll bears the incipit of the prayer of the Cherubic Hymn: Ou8Eis d~ioc T(DV ouv8E8EμEvvw (No one is worthy among those bound ...) St Athanasios' scroll begins the second antiphon of the Byzantine liturgy: KupLE o TOV Aa(Ov (Jou) (O Lord our God, save your people ...) Several of the saints bear very fragmentary texts. Gregory of Nazianzos: (E~ov)a(av Toy L'aTava. St Nicholas: K(at) awicw p~ttiaTa. St Cyril: TO 7TA~pwμα Tits

ORNAMENT: The arcades and terminal arabesques are nearly identical to those on the epitachelion of Dositheos in Athens. A series of stepped crosses takes the place of the poised squares with crosses in the zones of ornament separating the registers, and the spandrels of the arcades are unadorned.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 29-31, pl. LXII, LXIV-LXV.

34. Fragment of an epitachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Monastery of Dionysiou, epitachelion 4a

DIMENSIONS: A fragment, sewn together with an orarion. The surviving sections of the epitachelion measure 112 x 10 cm, and have been reduced in width.

DATE: Fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The half-length figure of Christ Pantokrator is joined by a later seam to two registers of holy bishops from a Great Deesis: Gregory of Nazianzos and Nicholas, Cyril and Athanasios. The figures are labelled in Greek.

INSCRIBED: St Athanasios' scroll begins the second antiphon of the Byzantine liturgy: KupLE o O(EO)c Tov Aa(ov oou) (O Lord our God, save your people ...). The scroll held by St Dionysios bears an ekphonesis from the Liturgy of St Basil: 'E~atpE-rcw rijs 17avayiac ... (Especially for the allholy [Virgin Mary]).

ORNAMENT: The outer sections of the arcades barely survive. The registers are separated by relatively wide oblong strips, containing stylized and fleshy palmettes facing alternate directions on a meandering stem.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 29-31, pl. LXII, LXVI-LXVII.

35. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, Monastery of Dionysiou, epitrachelion 3

DIMENSIONS: 142 x 23 cm

DATE: Fourteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The neck bears a medallion image of Christ Pantokrator between two archangels. The figures of the Great Deesis appear under arches: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, Peter and Paul, John Chrysostom and Basil, Athanasios and Gregory of Nazianzos, George and Demetrios. The saints are labelled in Greek.

INSCRIBED: St John Chrysostom holds a scroll inscribed with the incipit of the Prothesis prayer: `0 OEOS, o OE1c o Tli,v oupavtov izprov, (O God, our God, the heavenly bread...). St Basil's scroll bears the incipit to the Prayer of the Cheroubikon: Ou8eic ci~ios Taw avv6E6E[t Vwv, (No one is worthy...). Very short fragments of text legible on the scrolls of SS Athanasios (o 7roei xorov) and Gregory (o - r?t dyaOo[-r77-ri]).

ORNAMENT: The arcades are articulated as double lines representing the columns and arches. The column bases are represented by a pair of steps, the capitals by lion heads. The spandrels are empty. A row of stepped crosses separates each register of the arcades. The square ornamental fields at the end of the stole are filled on each side with a severely simple cross pattee within a roundel.

LITERATURE: Kondakov, *Pamiatniki no Afone*, 254, fig. 93; Millet, *Broderies*, 29-31, pl. LXII, LXIII.

36. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Romania, monastery of Putna, Inv. No. 34 (olim 239c; 556)

DIMENSIONS: 134 x 20 cm

DATE: C. 1496-1504, based on the dedication listing 'Bogdan, Voivode' alongside Stephen the Great and Maria.

ICONOGRAPHY: The neck bears medallions with Christ Pantokrator between the Mother of God and John the Forerunner. The arches on the length of the stole contain standing figures of prophets. The inscriptions, in Slavonic, comprise only one or two letters, but the figures are identified by the attributes they hold. Moses with a ewer and Aaron with a thurible occupy the first tier. They are followed by David and Solomon, both depicted orant, with empty hands. Jonas is identified with a gourd, Jacob with a ladder, Isaiah with a flowering rod, Ezekiel with a gate, Zachariah with a candlestick. Malachi and Micah both hold scrolls (blank), and Daniel holds a mountain.

INSCRIBED: In Church Slavonic: "CTe4aHb BoeBw/Aa cbTBOP/1 cb / erinTpaxllnb / MWHacTHpoy // CBOeMOy WT lJoy/THa, H ero, bor4aHb BoeBoA(a)" (Voivode Stephen made this epitachelion for his Monastery of Putna together with Maria his lady [i.e. wife] (and) Voivode Bogdan). The letters of the final name and title are quite compressed, representing either poor planning or, more likely, a last-minute addition on the part of the embroiderer.

ORNAMENT: The columns of the arcades rest on simple block bases, and terminate in cup-shaped capitals. The arches, which are somewhat shallower than a semicircle, are articulated with a double line of couching stitches. The outer sides of the arches sprout large acanthus leaves seen in profile. The only ornament between the registers is two or three rows of couching stitches in a chevron formation.

LITERATURE: Tafrali, Poutna, 59, cat. no. 97; pl. L; Millet, Broderies, 31-2, 34-5, pl. LXVII-LXXI; Johnstone, Byzantine Tradition, 101, pl. 37, 39; Paradais, Comori, 314-16, cat. no. 44.

37. Epitrachelion with saints in medallions

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Stavronikita, epitrachelion 2

DIMENSIONS: Excluding fringe, 255 x 24.5 cm

DATE: End of fifteenth century or, more likely, first half of the

sixteenth century, by comparison with the embroidered epitachelion of Symeon of Raska preserved at Rila Monastery in Bulgaria, dated by inscription to 7058, the 8th indiction (1550).¹²

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ appears on the neck as Pantokrator. The flanking medallions frame images of Zachariah the Priest and John the Forerunner. In the next register, the medallions show the Archangel Gabriel and the annunciate Virgin. The remaining registers contain holy bishops: Basil and John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos and Nicholas, Cyril and Athanasios, Dionysios and Spyridon, Hierotheos and Gregory of Nyssa. The saints are labelled in Greek.

INSCRIBED: Kw(v)a-ra(v)-rivoc iεpeuc K(at) ttEyac oiKOVΘuoc (Constantine, priest and Grand Ekonomos), the latter title being the senior rank among the dignitaries of the Great Church of Constantinople.¹³

ORNAMENT: The individual medallions are separated by smaller ones with hercules knots at their centres. Birds flank heart-shaped motifs in the interstices along the sides of the stole. The end panels are divided into a grid of thirty squares, each containing a central eight-pointed star.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 36-7, pl. LXXX, LXXXII-LXXXIII; M. Theocharis in *Stavronikita Monastery: History-Icons-Embroideries*, ed. S. A. Papadopoulos (Athens, 1974), 152, pl. 66-9.

38. Epitachelion with saints in roundels

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Stavronikita, epitachelion 3

DIMENSIONS: 135 x 24 cm

DATE: End of fifteenth or, more likely, first half of the sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ appears on the neck, unbearded and with wings, in the relatively rare iconographic type of the Angel of Mighty Counsel. He is flanked by medallions showing the prophet Isaiah and St John the Forerunner. The subsequent registers show Gabriel and the annunciate Virgin, Peter and Paul, John Chrysostom and Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos and Athanasios, Nicholas and Achilleus, Cyril and Hierotheos. Six-winged seraphim appear in the small, linking rings between the large roundels, while pairs of fourwinged cherubim and stars fill the interstices between the medallions. Identifying

inscriptions are in Greek. In Millet's photos, the ends of the stole have been aligned in the wrong direction, such that the figures' gestures of paraklesis are directed outward rather than inward, towards the image of Christ.

ORNAMENT: The ends of the stole feature panels of thirty-six squares each, filled alternately with swastikas and eight-pointed stars. The top and bottom of the ornamental field is demarcated with a strip of embroidery alternating hour-glass shapes and fragments of a meander-type ornament something like an intertwined S and Z. Small dots powder the background of the embroidery wherever there is negative space.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 36-7, pl. LXXX-LXXXIII; Theocharis in Stavronikita Monastery, 148-9, pl. 58-61.

39. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Simonopetra, epitrachelion 1

DIMENSIONS: 129.5 x 27 cm

Date: End of the fifteenth century or, more likely, first half of the sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ is shown on the neck of the stole as High Priest, wearing sakkos and omophorion. The arches below feature SS Basil and John Chrysostom. The Annunciation, which would normally appear in the first position after the medallion of Christ, appears in the next register, with the angel at proper right with regard to the wearer. Below are the holy bishops Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzos, Spyridon and Nicholas, Athanasios and Cyril, Ignatius and Metrophanes. The identifying inscriptions are in Greek. The rare depiction of St Metrophanes, first Bishop of Constantinople, suggests a connection to the patriarchal court in Constantinople.

INSCRIBED: Q(E)7~a(LS) 'r(o6) O(ot)A(ov) e(EOU) T'(E)Wpyiou a(UV) T(77S) Trp(Ea)R(u)T(E)p(ac) K(al) T(E)KV(WV) auT(tTV. M(VY~)oI/(7~)T(L) K(UpL)E T(()) 0(u)X(('4) T((tJV) 6(ot)A(6JV) a(ou) M(...)VW, 0(E0)6(())p(OU) K(al) Iw(avvou).14 (Prayer of the servant of God George with his wife and their children. Remember, Lord, the souls of your servants M ... ne [Magdalene?], Theodore, and John).

ORNAMENT: The arcades are formed as arches composed of a single

line of embroidery, resting on spiral columns. The capitals and bases are quite plain. The spandrels are filled with bracket-like ornaments, and angular vegetal details fill the negative spaces around the figures. The bands between registers consist of linked elements of a Greek meander motif with cloverleaf like florets between them. The terminal fields of ornament, framed at top and bottom by the inscription, consist of linked quatrefoil shapes containing crosses with quatrefoils and stars superimposed over their centres. The centre of each field contains a stylized double-headed eagle in an eight-pointed star.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 36-7, pl. LXXX; M. Theocharis in *Simonopetra*, Mount Athos, ed. S. Papadopoulos (Athens, 1991), 192, 213, pl. 127b-132.

40. Epitrachelion with holy bishops under arches

LOCATION: Serbia, monastery of Cetinje

DIMENSIONS: 143 x 26 cm

DATE: End of fifteenth or, more likely, first half of sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The image of Christ as high priest on the neck is flanked by the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation. The arches below are filled entirely with holy bishops: Basil and John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos and Nicholas, Dionysios and Hierotheos, Athanasios and Cyril, Spyridon and Gregory of Nyssa.

ORNAMENT: The arcades take the form of chevron-banded columns holding up trefoil arches. A stylized heart-shaped motif occupies the spandrels of the arches. Fragments of vegetal ornament invade the negative space surrounding the figures. The border motifs between the registers consist of variants on the rotated-S motif and plaited ribbons.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 36-42; Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji*, 52, cat. no. 22, pl. 23.

41. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, originally from monastery of Sisatovac

DIMENSIONS: 142 x 26 cm

DATE: End of the fifteenth or, more likely, first half of the sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ appears on the neck in episcopal vestments. The arches frame images of the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, John and Luke, Matthew and Mark, John Chrysostom and Basil, Athanasios and Gregory of Nazianzos, Cyril and Nicholas.

ORNAMENT: The arcades take the form of ogee arches resting on spiral-form columns with simple conical capitals and bases. The spandrels of the arches are occupied by a stylized heart-shaped motif. Scattered vegetal motifs invade both the pictorial areas around the figures as well as the external sides of the arcades. Narrow bands consisting of the rotated-S motif surrounded by plaited ribbon separate the registers. The terminal field consists of a grid of lines containing rosettes alternating with swastikas.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 36-42; Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji*, 52-3, cat. no. 23, pl. 25.

42. Epitrachelion with saints

LOCATION: Romania, monastery of Putna, Inv. No. 50 (olim 240b; 555)

DIMENSIONS: 147 x 23 cm

DATE: Late fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ appears on the neck as Pantokrator, in antique dress, flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in medallions. In the next register, the Mother of God and John the Forerunner appear in rectangular panels at half length, making the gesture of paraklesis or intercession. The third through ninth registers alternate holy bishops in medallions with rectangular panels showing apostles and evangelists: John Chrysostom and Basil, Peter and Paul, Gregory (unspecified) and Blaise, Mark and Matthew, Athanasios and Spyridon, John the Theologian and Luke, John the Merciful and Nicholas. The final register shows the martyrs George and Demetrios at full length. Presumably through a miscalculation on the part of the artist, George is rendered at a larger scale than Demetrios. All the figures are labelled in Greek.

ORNAMENT: A pair of star-like rosettes flanks the shoulders of the Mother of God. Apart from small, three-leaved motifs in the corners of the panels with circular medallions, the stole has no further ornamental embroidery.

LITERATURE: Tafrali, Poutna, 56-7, cat. no. 94, pl. XLVII; Millet, Broderies, 42-3, pl. LXXXVI, LXXXVIII-XC, XCII; Paradais, Comori, 288-91, cat. no. 35.

43. Epitrachelion with saints

LOCATION: Romania, Monastery of Putna, Inv. No. 70 (olim 239b; 553)

DIMENSIONS: Not given

DATE: Before 1504

ICONOGRAPHY: The iconography exactly copies the above stole, which Millet attributes to a Greek workshop. The copy, however, exaggerates certain stylistic features of the original, giving the figures very broad bodies and small heads. The figures are, again, inscribed in Greek.

ORNAMENT: The motifs in the corners of the medallions are elaborated into a pair of acanthus-like leaves flanking a central bud. The inscription panels at the end of the stole are set off with bands of vegetal ornament: above, an undulating vine with leaves on alternating sides; below, a row of enclosed palmettes.

INSCRIBED: Dedicatory inscription in Church Slavonic: aIw(aHrrb) CTeq)aHwb BoeBw/Aa cbTBOPu cb / eHeTpaxHnb (sic) / MaHacTrapoy // CBOCMOy WT Hoy/THa, a Mapi/ rocriw > XAa ero» (Voivode John Stephen made this epitrachelion for his monastery of Putna together with Maria his lady [i.e. wife]).

LITERATURE: Tafrali, Poutna, 57-8, cat. no. 95, pl. XLVII; Millet, Broderies, 42-3, pl. LXXXVII, XCI; Paradais, Comori, 301-3, cat. no. 40.

44. Fragment of an epitrachelion with embroidery of the Holy Trinity

LOCATION: Ochrid, National Museum

DIMENSIONS: Fragmentary, with top and bottom borders intact, 11.8 x 9.5 cm

DATE: Fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The Holy Trinity (inscribed in Greek) represented in

the usual form of the three angelic visitors to Abraham at the oaks of Mamre. The three angels sit on stools surrounding a central, round table with a footed dish at its centre. The angel at centre has a cruciform halo; deterioration of the haloes of the others make it difficult to say whether they also displayed this feature.

ORNAMENT: The scene is bordered at top and bottom by a band of embroidered ornament consisting of S-shaped angular motifs alternating with a double-X motif.

LITERATURE: Stojanovic, *Umetnie"ki vez u Srbiji*, 46-7, cat. no. 11. pl. 7.

45. Epitachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Pee, Patriarchal Treasury

DIMENSIONS: 128 x 26.5 cm

DATE: Late fourteenth-early fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Archangels Michael and Gabriel flanked the central figure (Christ?), now missing. On the front of the stole, the Mother of God and John the Forerunner stand under arcades, followed by Peter and Paul, Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian and Nicholas, the Apostle John the Theologian and Athanasios of Mt. Athos. Inscriptions are in Greek.

ORNAMENT: The figures are framed under arcades with semi-circular arches. The columns are treated as pairs of ribbons tied into a square knot in the centre. Heart-shaped interlace fills the spandrels. The final two registers are separated from those above by a line of interlaced medallions containing three patee crosses.

LITERATURE: Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji*, 50, cat. no. 18. pl. 8-9; A. Vasilic and M. Sakota, *Katalog riznice Manastira Pecke Patrijarsije* (Pristina, 1957), 13-14, pl. IV.

46. Epitachelion with feasts of Christ and holy bishops

LOCATION: Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, originally from Krusedol, Fruska-Gora

DIMENSIONS: 150 x 29 cm

DATE: Possibly end of the fifteenth century; more likely sixteenth

century, on basis of comparison with mid-sixteenth century epitachelia with similarly large compositions

ICONOGRAPHY: Scenes from the Christological cycle, presented one per register, divided across the sides of the stole. After the image of Christ on the neck, these are the Annunciation, Nativity of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin, Presentation of Christ, Baptism of Christ, and the Dormition of the Virgin. At the lowest register appear the holy hierarchs Athanasios, John Chrysostom, Basil, and Nicholas. Labelling inscriptions are in Greek.

ORNAMENT: A narrow band of alternating large and small canted squares, the larger ones inscribed with crosses, separates each register from the next

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 57-8; D. Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez u Srbiji od XIV do XIX veka* (Belgrade, 1959), 51, cat. no. 20, pl. 17, 19; L. Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnicki vez* (Belgrade, 1940), 43, pl. XXII.1.

47. Epitachelion with feasts of Christ and prophets, of Peter the Skevophylax (figs. 2.3, A.11)

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of the Great Lavra, epitachelion

DIMENSIONS: 124 cm long

DATE: If the piece is identical to the epitachelion with the feasts of Christ named in the 1396 inventory of the sacristy of Hagia Sophia, that date would provide the terminus ante quem. Stylistic similarities and a similar welter of incidental detail link the compositions to the frescoes of the church of the Peribleptos at Mistra, which would tend to point towards the later fourteenth century. Note, in particular, the quasi-perspectival architectural interior in the scene of the Pentecost, and the presence of the personified Jordan in the Baptism.

ICONOGRAPHY: Medallions (?) on the back of the neck with the Mother of God and John the Forerunner flanking Christ. The twelve feasts of the dodekaorton follow under arcades, each with a pair of prophets holding scrolls in the spandrels of the arches: the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ, the Baptism of Christ, the Presentation of Christ, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis, the Ascension, Pentecost, the Transfiguration, and the Dormition of the Mother of God. Scenes and figures are inscribed in Greek. The Transfiguration and

Presentation fall outside of their usual sequence in the cycle. It may be explained as the presentation of the feasts in calendar order of their celebration rather than the customary narrative sequence.



Fig. A.1 1. Nativity of Christ, (detail of epitrachelion of Peter the

Skeuophylax). Photo: Collection Millet, EPHE, Paris.

ORNAMENT: This stole displays a particularly rich repertoire of ornament. The ogee arches of the arcades stand on spiral columns with Corinthian capitals, although many of the latter are missing, leaving only a blank space. The narrow bands separating registers each display a unique pattern. Some are variants on the Greek fret, others are based on palmettes, and several on twining ribbons. The lowest border shows a spiral ribbon motif with the illusion of three-dimensional shading. The terminal panels of ornament, above the inscription, consist of spirals of foliage that issue from the mouths of ox heads. The details vary: on the (wearer's) right side of the stole, the scrolls terminate in the heads of dragons (?) and bears, while on the left, they end in wolf and lion heads.

Inscribed: In Greek across the bottom of the stole: < < + H&pov iepEws/Kai aKevo~ AaKOS TTjs Meyda5s 'EKKA5aias» (Peter, Priest and Skeuophylax [sacristan] of the Great Church). The scroll held by Moses adjacent to the scene of the Crucifixion bears a recognizable inscription: « O/eaO€ (T~V ~w~v (Gov) Kpeμ(attEin) [dTTEvavTC TcJL' o~Oaμcuv aov] > > (You will see your life suspended before your eyes. [cf. Dent: 28.66]). None of the other scrolls is decipherable.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 54-6, pl. CX-CXII.

48. Epitrachelion with pairs of saints under arches

LOCATION: Croatia, monastery of Krk

DIMENSIONS: Not recorded

DATE: End of fifteenth or early sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The Holy Trinity represented on the neck. The length of the stole shows figures standing under pairs of arches, four per register: prophets (including Moses and John the Baptist) in the first register, the Annunciation flanked by David and Solomon in the second register, the four evangelists in the third register, and sainted bishops in registers four through eight.

INSCRIBED: A late inscription records the donation of the stole by Prohegumen Vikentije Knezevic to the monastery in 1824 and states that he brought it from the monastery of Studenica.

ORNAMENT: The figures stand under ogee arches. There are a variety of interlace-type ornamental motifs in the narrow bands separating the registers. The ends of the stole are decorated both with a checkerboard-like matrix of thirty-six squares containing individual motifs, and by a narrower register containing larger, paired interlaced crosses.

LITERATURE: Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnicki vez*, 42, pl. XXII.6

49. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Formerly monastery of Krusedol, Fruska-Gora, transferred to Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church

DIMENSIONS: 145 x 27 cm

DATE: Late fifteenth century (?) or sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Deesis with Christ, the Theotokos and John the Forerunner in roundels. Framed under arches are the standing figures of two archangels, two apostles, six holy bishops, and two monastic saints.

ORNAMENT: Simple, linear arches on stepped bases with diminutive capitals. The registers are separated only by a line of couched gold. The interiors of the arches and their surrounds, however, alternate between gold interior and silver exterior in one register and silver interior and gold exterior in the next. The ornamental panels at the ends of the stole feature eight-pointed stars within a circle, frames above and below by strips of stepped-cross ornament.

LITERATURE: Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnicki vez*, 43, pl. XXII.2; Stojanovi , *Umetnici vez*, 53, cat. no. 24.

50. Epimanikion with the Great Deesis

LOCATION: Novgorod State United Museum Preserve, Inv. No. JjPT 51; prior to 1925 in the Novgorod cathedral of St Sophia

DIMENSIONS: 138 x 39 cm, including later textile support

DATE: Second half of the fourteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ as Great High Priest on the neck, depicted in a sakkos and blessing with both hands, flanked by medallions showing the archangels Michael and Gabriel at half length. The front of the

stole shows the figures standing under arches, all turning inwards slightly towards the image of Christ: the Mother of God and John the Forerunner, SS Peter and Paul, Basil and John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos and Athanasios, and the martyrs Demetrios and Stephen.

ORNAMENT: The figures stand under arches of trefoil shape, which rest on columns with severely plain stepped capitals and bases. Heart-shaped knots with foliate terminations ornament the spandrels. The oblong sections between registers bear two basic motifs: stepped crosses and a pair of S-shaped tendrils side by side. The stepped cross motif appears in two scales, the larger in the wider spaces between the medallions of the archangels and Christ and again below the figures of the martyrs. In the narrower strips, a row of four stepped crosses appears between each two figures on the (proper) right side of the stole, and the vegetal motif on the left side. If there were large fields of decorative embroidery at the ends of the stole, these have been lost in the course of its later remounting onto an Ottoman (?) silk and gold textile.

LITERATURE: E. V. Ingashina, *Drevnerusskoe litsevoe i ornamental'noe Shit'C v sobranii Novgorodskogo muzei: Katalog* (Novgorod, 2003), 27, cat. No. 4. [No previous bibliography listed.]

51. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Novgorod State United Museum Preserve, Inv. No. JjPT 53, prior to 1932 in the treasury of the Antoniev Monastery

DIMENSIONS: In fragmentary state, present measurements 165 x 10.5 cm

DATE: Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Four bishop saints and two holy deacons are depicted standing under arches, labelled in Slavonic characters: John Chrysostom and Basil, Stephen of Surozh (labelled Sur'sky, which must be an error for Surozhskii) and Nicholas, Lawrence, and Stephen.

ORNAMENT: The saints stand under multi-lobed arches of ogival shape, crowned with crosses at their peaks. The supporting columns have a central node as well as capitals and bases of stepped form. The narrow panels separating the registers alternate between scrolling foliate ornament and a row of three Greek crosses inscribed in circles.

INSCRIBED: A dedicatory inscription in Church Slavonic appears near

the neck of the epitachelion: < < F(ocrno) > xe b(oropoAH)ue
 np(e)H(HC)Ta51 M(a)TI b(o) > x/1451 M/(14)n(o)CT(14)Ba51
 u(a)p(n)ua, nO > xa/nyn, r(ocHo) > xe, rioMnnyn pa6y cB/oIO
 Mapnlo, ocTa(B)n (?) en rpexa. b/yAn, r(ocno)xce, noMomennua B
 ceM / Bee H B 6y4yn eM pa/6e cBoen Mapne n pa6a cBoer/o 4eAopa
 c(bI)Ha ee. 17(ocno)xce u(a)p(n)ua np(e)H/(nc)Ta51, HO > xanyn.
 17(OCHO)xCe, noMnnyn.»

(Lady Theotokos, most pure Mother of God, merciful Queen, be kind.
 Lady, have mercy upon your servant Maria, forgive her sins. Lady, be
 a helper in this age and in the one to come to your servant Maria and
 to your servant Theodore, her son. Lady, most pure Queen, be kind.
 Lady, have mercy. [translation by Georgi Parpulov])

LITERATURE: Archimandrite Makarii, Arkheologicheskoe opisanie
 tserkovnykh drevnostei v Novgorode i ego okrestnostiakh (Moscow,
 1860), 337-8; Dmitrii, Bishop of Riazan, `0 vnutrennem ustroistve i
 ubranstve khramov Novgorodskogo Antonieva monastyria v XVII veke
 po sravnenniiu s nastoiashchim ikh sostoianiem, Trudy XV
 Vserossiiskogo arkheologicheskogo s"ezda v Novgorode 1 (Moscow,
 1914), 248. E.V. Ignashina, Drevnerusskoe litsevoe i ornamental'noe
 shit'e", 29 cat. no. 6.

52. See p. 289, below.

Epimanikia

1. Epimanikia with the Deesis (fig. 1.11)

LOCATION: Novgorod State United Museum Preserve, Inv. No.
 1624a-b / ,IPT 44

DIMENSIONS: 28 x 45; 27 x 45.5 cm

DATE: Late twelfth century; associated with Varlaam of Khutyn'

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ stands frontally, flanked by the Virgin and
 John the Baptist, all of whom stand under arches. Inscribed in Greek
 with Slavonic orthography (i.e. use of the tverdyy znak). The figures
 are outlined with pearl stitching, most likely a later addition, while
 the coloured silk thread rendering the faces is almost completely lost.

ORNAMENT: Each cuff is bordered at top and bottom by a broad band
 of rinceau with five-lobed flowers at the centre of each loop of the
 running vine. The arches under which the figures stand are depicted

as though the arcades continued indefinitely; the outer columns support the springing of arches cut off by the edge of the cuffs. Wedges of tightly packed vegetal ornament fill these half-formed spaces. The columns are decorated with meandering vines with trefoil leaves, while the arches are decorated with a more formalized vine scroll with palmettes on alternate sides. The capitals contain a guilloche design, while the spandrels of the arches are decorated with pendant, trefoil flowers. Amid this profusion of vegetal ornament, it is interesting to note that the space in which the figures stand is left unadorned.

LITERATURE: Archimandrite Makarii, *Putevoditel' po Novgorodu, s ukazaniem na ego tserkovnye drevnosti i sviatyni* (St Petersburg, 1862), 35; 1. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, *Russkie drevnosti v pamiatnikakh iskusstva* 6 (St Petersburg, 1899), 170-2; V. N. Lazarev, *Iskusstvo Novgoroda* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), 129, pl. 130; A. S. Orlov, *Bibliografiia russkikh nadpisei, XI-XV vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1952), 31-2, no. 23; L. I. Iakunina, *Russkoe shit'e zhemchugom* (Moscow, 1955), 34-5; A. N. Svirin, *Drevnerusskoe shit'e* (Moscow, 1963), 25, 27; Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery*, 22-3, cat. no. 2; T. N. Manushkina, *«K voprosu ob ornamentike v proizvedeniakh russkogo shit'a XII-XV vekov, Gosudarstvennyi istoriko-kul'turnyi muzeizapovednik "Moskovskii Kreml'": Materialy i issledovannia* 10 (1995), 161-2; E. V. Ignashina, *Drevnerusskoe litsevoe i ornamental'noe shit'e v sobranii Novgorodskogo myzeia: katalog* (Novgorod, 2003), 25, cat. no. 2.

2. Epimanikia with the Communion of the Apostles (fig. 2.18 [Plate 1])

LOCATION: Bucharest, National Fine Arts Museum, Inv. No. 15767/B.122; formerly in collection of the monastery of Vintila-Voda, Buzau district, Wallachia

DIMENSIONS: 37.5 x 24.5 cm

DATE: c. 1500

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ, assisted by an angel-deacon, administers the bread and wine to six apostles on each cuff. He stands at an altar surmounted by a domed ciborium and surrounded by cancellae. The scenes are inscribed with the Eucharistic words of institution in Greek.

INSCRIBED: Ad/ere cbayerE (Take, eat...) and Ht'ErE E~ aurou 7rav7'ES (Drink ye all of this ...).

LITERATURE: Tezaurul rsetituit 125, figs. 10, 11; Johnstone, Byzantine Tradition, 98, pl. 24; Byzantinijnse Kunst nit Roemenie, 102, cat. no. 51.

3. Epimanikia with the Communion of the Apostles

LOCATION: Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church

DIMENSIONS: 18 cm high x 28 cm width along the top edge and 40 cm width along the bottom edge

DATE: Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: On both cuffs, Christ presides at an altar covered with a cloth and surmounted by a domed baldaquin resting on four columns. Christ himself wears a sakkos covered in crosses and an omophorion, and is surrounded on each cuff by six apostles in antique dress. In the scene of the distribution of the bread he reaches out to his right and to his left to place a morsel in the hand of the apostles who approach from both sides. In the scene of the distribution of the wine, he administers the cup to Paul, who approaches from the right.

INSCRIBED: Badly worn inscriptions along the upper border of the cuffs, now only partially legible: Ac/ETE cbayere• -rouro μov Ea-rt... and [HtErE E~] au-rob 7rav-rES• -rov-r6 Ea-rt ... (‘Take, eat; this is my body...’ [Drink ye] all of this, this is...’).

ORNAMENT: The border decoration consists of two ribbons interlaced to form four-pointed stars and poised squares. Sprigs of foliage appear behind the canopy and in the negative space behind the apostles.

LITERATURE: Mirkovic, Crkveni umetnicki vez, 37, pl. XVIII.I; Millet, Broderies, 62; Stojanovic, Umetnicki vez u Srbiji, 45, cat. no. 8, fig. 4.

4. Epimanikia with the Communion of the Apostles

LOCATION: Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church

DIMENSIONS: 20 cm high x 28 cm width along the top edge and 40 cm width along the bottom edge

DATE: Early fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The iconography is similar to pair of cuffs above. Christ again appears in the dress of a bishop, wearing a sakkos with crosses and an omophorion. Peter is singled out to receive the bread,

just as Paul receives the wine, in this case from a large krater. On each cuff, pairs of angels holding liturgical fans (rhipidia) hover on either side of the altar canopy.

INSCRIBED: Around the surrounding borders of the cuffs, beginning at upper TOVTO tt.ov EaTi TO TO 67TEp Utt(,4 KA(R [t•Evov EIS a(bEaty att•apTioji 11(ETE E~ aUTOV 7ravTES• TOVTO EaTi To attta tt.ov To T7ts K(aOvi/s 8(aOr)Krts To 67rEp utt•wv K(at) 7roa(A)(ov EKXvvo(μevov).

ORNAMENT: Only straight lines of couched gold thread separate the borders with their inscriptions from the main fields of pictorial embroidery.

LITERATURE: Mirkovic, Crkveni umetnicki vez, 37, pl. XVIII.2; Millet, Broderies, 62; Stojanovic, Umetnicki vez u Srbiji, 45-6, cat. no. 9, fig. 5.

5. Epimanikion with the Communion of the Apostles (fig. 2.25)

LOCATION: Sofia, Bulgaria, National Museum, No. 1793

DIMENSIONS: Not recorded

DATE: Fourteenth or early fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ is shown as patriarch, vested in sakkos and omophorion. Six apostles, three on each side, approach the canopied altar at which Christ presides. St Paul (identifiable by his portrait type) drinks from a large, krater-like vessel with a lobed lip and wide handles held by Christ. Diminutive angels with flabella hover over the canopy.

ORNAMENT: The borders of the cuff are filled with a motif of plaited ribbons

LITERATURE: Millet, Broderies, 62, pl. CXXIII.

6. Epimanikion with Christ as patriarch with SS Gregory of Nazianzos and Nicholas

LOCATION: Prilep, National Museum

DIMENSIONS: 23 cm high x 36 cm long at the base, 29 cm long at the top of the cuff

DATE: Fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Christ, vested as a Byzantine patriarch in sakkos and omophorion, makes a gesture of benediction with both arms. He is flanked to his right by Gregory of Nazianzos (incorrectly called John the Theologian in Stojanovic, but conforming to Gregory's usual facial type) and to his left by Nicholas of Myra. One can posit that the pair to this cuff, now lost, must have shown SS Basil and John Chrysostom.

INSCRIBED: In Greek on the scrolls of both bishops; Gregory's is, unfortunately, not sufficiently legible to transcribe. On the scroll of Nicholas: `0 ElAoyciw -roes (EU)Aoy(ou)v-rcic (aE) (incipit of the prayer behind the ambo).

ORNAMENT: Only one surviving border, at the top of the cuff, with an interlace of poised squares containing the device of intertwined gammas familiar as a Palaiologan quasi-heraldic symbol. The background is of plain design, couched in rows of chevrons, except for two scrolling vines with spiky palmette leaves that occupy the space between Christ and the hierarchs. One can compare the design of such leaves decorating the background of the epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimonoiannes in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, dated 1406-7.15

LITERATURE: Stojanovic, Umetnicki vez u Srbiji, 55, cat. no. 28, fig. 12.

7. Epimanikia with the Annunciation to the Virgin

LOCATION: Near Pljevalja, Serbia, monastery of Sveta Trojica

DIMENSIONS: 22 cm height x 40 cm along the base, 30 cm along the narrower top of the cuff

DATE: End of the fifteenth or first half of the sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The Annunciation, with the Archangel Gabriel on one cuff and the Virgin standing next to her chair on the other. Both are framed under arches. Inscribed in Greek with the title of the scene in the space next to the Virgin.

INSCRIBED: The upper borders of the epimanikia bear variants of texts of the vesting prayers now part of the textus receptus of the Byzantine rite (see Appendix Q. The cuff with the Angel is inscribed: ai XEipes oou Ekroi)odv µE Kai ETrAaoav µE. (Thy hands have made me and fashioned me [Ps. 118/ 119:73].) The cuff with the Virgin

reads: QE~ia K(upio)u E7oi7)oE 56vaμiv, 6E~ta K(upio) u ur/iwoe μE. (The right hand of the Lord has wrought mightily, the right hand of the Lord has exalted me [Ps. 117/118:15-16]).

ORNAMENT: The figures stand under arcades made of arches and columns of twinned ribbons, with simple, cushion-form capitals and bases. The side borders of the cuffs show a similar plaited design, while the lower borders show knotted interlace with the rotated-S motif. The background of the cuffs is embroidered with an overall reticulated design of interlaced ribbons enclosing eight-petal florets and eight-pointed stars. The identifying inscriptions of the figures are also incorporated into this network of lines.

LITERATURE: Mirkovic, Crkveni umetni/ki vez, 37-8, pl. XVIII.3; Millet, Broderies, pl. CXXI; Stojanovic, Umetni/ki vez u Srbiji, 55, cat. no. 29, figs. 16, 18.

6. Epimanikia with the Annunciation (of Bishop Dorotheos)

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Stavronikita

DIMENSIONS: 20.6 cm high x 38 cm along the bottom length, 27 cm across the top

DATE: End of fifteenth or first half of the sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: The Archangel Gabriel stands making a gesture of speech with his right hand, holding a sceptre in his left. The Virgin, making a gesture of response, stands in front of her chair, holding the skein of purple wool from her weaving. A blooming plant hovers in the background to her right. Gabriel is labelled in Greek; the Virgin's inscription appears to have been lost during restoration.

ORNAMENT: The figures stand under ogee arches atop columns with lionheaded capitals. The column bases appear almost as inverted Corinthian capitals. The borders are decorated with a twinned ribbon design. The upper border consists of more loosely intertwined ribbons, alternating large loops, which contain the letters of the name and title of the (presumed) patron and the smaller ones filled with silver couched thread. The background of both cuffs is filled with looping tendrils of a vine scroll that springs from the base of the pillars on either side of the figures. The tendrils terminate in silver buds and flowers against the gold ground.

INSCRIBED: Within the rinceau across the top of the two cuffs:

40P0[0]E (0)L JAPXHEPEAL' (of Dorotheos the Bishop)

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 58-9, pls. CXVIII-CXIX; M. Theocharis in Stavronikita, 177, cat. no. 10, pl. 81.

7. Epimanikia with the Annunciation to the Virgin and Holy Trinity

LOCATION: Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Inv. No. 600

DIMENSION: 22.5 cm high x 38 cm long at the base, 28.5 cm long at the top of the cuff

DATE: Possibly fifteenth century. Millet links the iconography to Macedonian painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the volumetric style of the figures compares well to early Palaiologan examples.

ICONOGRAPHY: On a single cuff, the Archangel Gabriel approaches the seated Virgin from her right. The dove of the Holy Spirit descends from a segment of sky on the Virgin, who holds a skein of wool in her upraised left hand. Her throne is quite massive, and sits on bun feet with a plain footstool. Fragments of architecture appear behind the figures in the upper corners, while the scene is labelled in Greek between them. The corresponding cuff shows the Holy Trinity in the guise of the three angels entertained by Abraham. Abraham and Sarah are absent from the draped square table at which the three divine persons sit. A domed building appears in one corner of the background, a spire-like structure in the other.

ORNAMENT: The scenes are framed with a single line of couched gold, which is straight above and below and scalloped at the sides. There is an upper border of large and small loops of twined ribbons, while the lower border consists of a single meandering vine with tendrils on alternate sides.

LITERATURE: Millet, *Broderies*, 58, pl. CXVIII.I; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 98, pl. 19, 21.

8. Epimanikia with SS John Chrysostom and Basil

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Simonopetra

DIMENSIONS: The cuffs have been cut down. Present dimensions not given.

DATE: End of the fifteenth or first half of the sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Each cuff shows a single saint framed under an arch and labelled in Greek. St John Chrysostom wears the sakkos and omophorion, while Basil wears a plain phelonion and omophorion. Both saints hold codices in the left hand and bless with their right hands.

ORNAMENT: The arches rest on columns of spiral form, with lion-head capitals. The backgrounds are filled with a spiralling rinceaux, with the tendrils ending in a variety of palmette- and rosette-form flowers. The remains of an interlace border are visible at top and bottom.

INSCRIBED: Along the bottom of the cuff with St John Chrysostom: (M)avov'A Kai Map~ac (sic) (Manuel and Maria); along the bottom of the cuff with St Basil: (Mt)XaiA Kai Av-rojvtvac (Michael and Antonina).

LITERATURE: M. Theocharis in Simonopetra, 217, figs. 141, 143.

Oraria

1. Orarion with deacon angels

LOCATION: Mt. Athos, monastery of Stavronikita

DIMENSIONS: 5 cm wide; the stole survives (complete) in two fragments, totaling 131 cm

DATE: End of the fifteenth or, more likely, first half of the sixteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: At the mid-point of the stole there is an image of Christ within a medallion, flanked by the Mother of God and John the Forerunner under arches. The remainder of the figural decoration consists of six angels arranged in pairs under arcades, all vested as deacons. Four are labelled with abbreviated inscriptions (in Greek) identifying them as the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael. Six-winged seraphim fill square compartments between the arcades containing the deacon angels.

ORNAMENT: The arcades are treated very simply, with slightly depressed rounded arches atop stepped capitals. The letters of the inscriptions are fitted into the spandrels and other background spaces, while a handful of S-shaped decorative motifs invade the negative space around the figures. The figural panels are spaced with two types of square panels: one containing a thin, rope-twist Greek cross with

florets in the corners, and the other a cruciform Hercules knot set against a square. Narrower bands contain florets between meandering ribbons. The end panels contain a more elaborate pattern of large rosettes framed by interlace.

LITERATURE: M. Theocharis in Stavronikita Monastery, 175, pl. 56, 86.

APPENDIX B

Embroidered Vestments Described in Byzantine Texts

Sakkoi

1. White sakkos with crosses and angles

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Crosses and angles, pearls

TEXT: adKKOS AEUKOS avpfiaTEuoc XpUCOUS, O~ELS KaL araUpo
U\$ [LETa μapyapwv (MM, II, 568)

2. White sakkos with gold-embroidered crosses and angles

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Crosses and angles, as above, but without pearls

TEXT: ETEpOS ouolos [adKKOS] /1EUK6S aVpμar€ivoc CLVEV
fLapyapirapiwv (MM 11,568)

3. Black sakkos with embroidery

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: ETEpos [acKKOS] LEAas avpμarECvos (MM 11, 568)

4. White sakkos with embroideries of Christ and the Virgin

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Icons of Christ and Mary, pearls and stones

TEXT: ETEpOS O[LOLOS [adKKOS] AEVKOS KAmTWTOS, EXWV
ELKOVac (SUO, TOU XpLGTOI Kai Trjc OEOTOKOU, μETa Kai
ALBapiwv rEpavEo)v Tptmv (MM, II, 568)

5. Purple sakkos with metal embroidery

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: acKKOS KA Trwroc o~tS (MM II, 568)

6. Purple sakkos with silver-gilt leaves

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: silver-gilt ivy leaves, six unspecified holy images,
pearls, glass, and stones

TEXT: ETEpOS [oiKKOS] Kat aUTOS O6US EXWV KLaac(/vAAa
apyvpo3LcXpvaa TpLa KOVTa Kat cbaKTa fiETa KaL ayLWv EuKOVac
E~ μETa c/EyKLwv Kai ftapyapwv (MM II, 568)

7. Sky-blue sakkos with pearls

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: adKKOS r)EpavEoc μETa μapyaptrapiwv (MM II, 568)

Phelonia

1. Purple phelonion with metal embroidery

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: c/EVOAtoV (sic) KAaTrwTOv Toy aytaaμoy (MM II, 568)

Omophoria

1. Purple omophorion with embroidered crosses

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Images of Christ and Mary, pearl embroidery

TEXT: erepov [cwpLoc/opLov] o~uv, EXov a-ravpous
XpvaoKAabapLKouc sic) (MM, 11,568)

2. Omophorion with pearls and stones

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: wp,oc/opLov ttETa N,apyapcrapimv Kai 1LBapiwv SEKaEe
(MM 11, 568)

3-4. Two gold embroidered omophoria

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Designated as 'old' in inventory of 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: ETepa 66o [coμoc/~opLa] XpvaoKAa5apuKa TraAaLd (MM 11,
568)

5. Purple omophorion with gold embroidered crosses

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Embroidered crosses, not otherwise specified

TEXT: ETepov [cJFAoc/opiov] o~uv, EXov aravpous (MM 11,568)

6. Gold-embroidered omophorion

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: XpVG0KAa3apLKOV, oTrep Ea-raA5 aTTO T7js pw ... (MM II, 569)

Epitrachelia

1-5. Five embroidered epitrachelia

LOCATION: Pamos, monastery of St John the Theologian

DATE: Recorded in inventory of September 1200

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: (C. Astruc, 'L'inventaire dresse en septembre 1200 du tresor et de la bibliotheque de Patmos: Edition diplomatique', Travaux et memoires 8 [1981], 22)

6. Gold-embroidered epitrachelion

LOCATION: Boreine (formerly read as Koteine or Skoteine), Lydia, monastery of the Theotokos

DATE: Recorded in the founder's Testament of November 1247

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: E7rtrpaX~Ata 3VO. `ErEpOV (S. Evstratiades, `H Ev (Pt1a8e1c/Eia Move 77)s u7repayiac OEOTOKOV Hellenika 3 [1930], 331-2; translation, Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents 3,1186)

7. Epitrachelion with feasts of Christ

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: The feasts of Christ; perhaps identical to the epitachelion of Peter the Skeuophylax at the Great Lavra, Mt. Athos

TEXT: ΕΤερον αυτου Ειπον, ΕΧΟV Kai ras 8Ε070ΤLΚas Εοprac (MM II, 568)

8. Pearl- and gold-embroidered epitachelion

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: Ε7rirpay Atov οΑοfidpyapov).sera αυτου Χρvaov, ΕΧov Kai 1tOczpta t7) (MM II, 568)

9. Pearl- and gold-embroidered epitachelion

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: ΕrΕρον Ε7rtrpaΧ5ΑLov fhEra Χpvοου αυptiaros 6Αομαpyapov (MM 11, 568)

10. Gold-embroidered epitachelion

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: ΕΤεποV [Ε7rirpaΧ5ΑLov] αυptiarΕivov Χρvaοuv (MM 11, 568)

11. Purple epitachelion of Patriarch Neilos

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: C. 1379-1388

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: Eis RAariv o~uv, oTTEp w/ aEpwaev o ayLwrraros Kai dotSttos
rrarpiapXlls Kup NEiaos (MM 11, 569)

12. Russian epitrachelion with pearls and glass (i.e. enamel?)
ornaments

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: ErrirpaX~)tov pwauKOv o)\oftiapyapov ttEra Epiwv
apyvpo6taXpuawV Kai vEAiwv at c/aKrwv 6Aoyoftiov (MM 11, 569)

LITERATURE: P. Hetherington, 'Byzantine and Russian Enamels in the
Treasury of Hagia Sophia in the Late 14th Century', BZ 93 (2000),
133-7

Epimanikia

1-3. Three pairs of embroidered epimanikia

LOCATION: Pamos, monastery of St John the Theologian

DATE: Recorded in inventory of September 1200

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: KEVT7)Ta ~vyab TpELS (Astruc, 'Inventaire de Patmos, 22)

4. Epimanikia with the Annunciation

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: The Annunciation to the Virgin with pearl
embroidery and gems

TEXT: ET[idvLKa, ~U77] tLLa, t.LETa avpti,aroc Xpuood, EXOVTa Kai
TOV XaLpETlattiov 6Aotlapyapa Kai 1LBapla 6EKarpia (MM II, 568)

5. Epimanikia with the Annunciation and Anastasis

LOCATION: Boreine (formerly read as Koteine or Skoteine), Lydia,
monastery of the Theotokos

DATE: Recorded in founder's Testament of November 1247

ICONOGRAPHY: The Annunciation and the Anastasis, presumably on separate cuffs

TEXT: XpvoOKAa/JapLKa o XaLtJETLU[t(oS KCAL ~ avaoraatS.
`ErEpat 86o. (Evstratiades, `Mov) -ris 331-2; translation, Byzantine
Monastic Foundation Documents 3, 1186)

6. Gold-embroidered epimanikia with pearls and stones

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: E7TLtLdVLKa XpvaoKAa6apLKa t.LETa t.LapyapCJV KaL
tOapLWV Ee (MM II, 568)

7. Gold-embroidered epimanikia for daily use

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: ETEpa XpvaoKAa3aptKa KaO7)tLEplva (MM II, 568)

8. Epimanikia (?) of Patriarch Neilos

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: c. 1379-1388

ICONOGRAPHY: Panels with four saints and pearls

TEXT: [lacuna, perhaps E7rtµavtKa o-r~Aac dyiwv rEaaapa µEra
ttiapyapwv, a&rEp ac/LEpwaEV o au-roc aytw-ra-roc Kdp NEiAoc
(MM II, 569)

Epigonatia

1-3. Three embroidered epigonatia

LOCATION: Pamos, monastery of St John the Theologian

DATE: Recorded in inventory of September 1200

ICONOGRAPHY: Two of the three epigonatia bear unspecified images

TEXT: E7gova7(ta) KEV77)7a -rpta, cuv -ro Ev ~4o(c), -ra atticl~o-
r(E)p(a) µEra EtKOVtaµa7(wv) (Astruc, `Inventaire de Patmos, 22)

4. Gold-embroidered epigonation with the Anastasis

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: The Anastasis of Christ

TEXT: EmyovaTtov Xpvaouv avpuar€ivov, EXov ri)v avaaraaty (MM
11, 568)

5. Epigonation with metal embroidery

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, Treasury

DATE: Recorded in inventory of October 1396

ICONOGRAPHY: Not specified

TEXT: EMyova7tov KAa7rw-rov (MM 11, 568)

Mitre

1. Mitre of John XIV Kalekas

LOCATION: Constantinople, Hagia Sophia

DATE: 1341 or earlier

ICONOGRAPHY: Deesis with Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist

TEXT:... Kai T71) ET(L T7)S KECbaA7s KaavTTTpav, ~v roc
TrarpLapXas Egos cb€pELV, izv FL3 TOy TayFlaTOS WGL Twv
ttova~ovTWV, o0ov',q AevKq TTEplELA'qp,p,€V'qv TrpOTEpov,
aUTOS KaTEKOOI.L3OE XpUOW, ELKOVac aUT3 TOU TE OWT3pO\$
3/EWV Eyypai/!ac XpLOTOU I3OOU KaL T7)S TEKOUO7)S aUTOV
aXpaVT0V OEOTOKOU KaL IWavvOV Toy BaTTTLOTOy. John
Kantakouzenos, Historia 111, 36 (= PG 153, col. 909A-B)

APPENDIX C

Vesting Prayers According to the *Textus Receptus* of the Greek Rite

Blessing of the Deacon's Orarion and Sticharion by the priest:

EUaoy7)TOS O eEOS Yip(~JV T(aVTOTE VUV Kai aEL Kai ELS TOOS
al(~VaS TQV al(~VWV. ap~jv.l

Blessed be our God, now and forever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

The sticharion

AyaAALaoETaL ~ LbvX~ [tov ETt T0J Kvpiw' EVEBUOE yap [tE
0wT5piou, Kai 7rEpLERaAE ft,E, s VV"" 7TEpLe'O5Ke' μoL fiLTpav,
Kai Ws' VU[t,(b77V KaTEKooft ioE [tE KOOf.".2

My soul rejoices in the Lord, for he has clothed me in the mantle of salvation. He has also put on me the robe of good cheer; like a bridegroom he has crowned me with a garland and like a bride he has adorned me with ornament (Isaiah 61: 10).

The epimanikia

[Right]: T1 oou XEip KupLE Ev i0XVL, ~7 8E~La oou XEip KupLE
EOpaVOEV EX6pOVS Kai T() T7)s 84W oou ouvETpu/!as Toys

Your right hand, O Lord, is exalted in might; your right hand, O Lord, has shattered your enemies, and by the fullness of your glory, you have crushed your opponents (Exodus 15: 6-7).

[Left]: Al XEipES oov E7ro(5odV [tE Kai E7r/laoav [LE' OVVETLOOV
[tE Kat μaO5ooμaL Tas Evroaas CFO V.4

Your hands have made me and fashioned me. Instruct me that I may learn your commandments (Psalm 118/119: 73).

The epitachelion

Euloy3T6S o OEos o EKXewV T7v Xpty (WTOV ETTL ToyS LEpEis

aVTOV oJS μopov ETTL KE7a/17~s, TO Kara/aivov 7rwyoJV a, rol
7rclywva rou YIap(JP, TO KaTa/aLVOV Em T7)V (Sav TOU

Blessed be God who pours out his grace upon his priests like balm
upon the head, which flows down onto the beard, the beard of Aaron,
which flows even to the hem of his garment (Psalm 132/133: 2).

The zone

EIAoy'r]TOS o OLEOS o 7TEpl~0-JVV6WV FAE SUVapty, Kai EBETO
af.LW[AOV T7]V 086V μoV.6

Blessed be God, who girds me with strength and makes my way
blameless (Psalm 17/18: 32).

The epigonation

Tr]v fofr.rbalav 600 ETri TOV FA7ip°V oov Kai 000 KCAL EVTELVE
KCAL KATE UO 6OU KCAL / ao(AEvE Ka) TrpaOT"YiTOS KCAL ?
nKatoo6v Ka) CFE1 OE OavfiaoT(i 7) CSE5La (100. 7raITOTE, VUV
Ka) dE(, Ka) E)S TOUS aLwvas TOil) a1COVoil. a[A7iV.7

Gird your sword on your thigh, O mighty one; in your loveliness and
beauty stretch forth and prosper and reign for the sake of truth and
gentleness and justice, and may your right hand lead you wondrously.
Always, now and for ever, and to ages of ages. Amen (Psalm 44/45:
3-4).

The phelonion or the sakkos

Ol L`E'pELS oov K6p1E EVSvGovTaL Ka) OL 0610) aov ayaAAataaEt
ayaAALaaovTaL. TraVTOTE, VUV Kat del, Ka) E)S TOUS a)wvaS T(all
a/U0)08.

Your priests, O Lord, will be clothed in righteousness, and your holy
ones will rejoice with joy. Always, now and for ever, and to ages of
ages. Amen. (Psalm 131/132: 9).

The omophorion

'E7rl XptarE r7v'rAav7BEiaav cipas cb6aty, aval7c1BEis T(p OEw Kai
Harps 7rpoo/yayES.9

Having raised upon your shoulders, O Christ, our nature that had
strayed, you presented it to God the Father (Troparion of Ode 7,

Addendum to Appendix A

Epitrachelia (continued)

52. Epitrachelion with saints under arches

LOCATION: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Elizabeth Day McCormick Collection, Inv. No. 43.338

DIMENSIONS: 116 x 20 cm, cut down in the center section

DATE: Second half of the fifteenth century

ICONOGRAPHY: Deesis, although the central figure, presumably a bust of Christ, has been lost. The surviving arches frame the Mother of God and John the Baptist, SS Peter and Paul, John Chrysostom and Basil, Gregory and Athanasios, Nicholas and Cyril of Alexandria.

INSCRIBED: A narrow band between the ornamental fields on the (proper) right side of the stole bears what is likely an inscription, but a transcription has not been published, nor can it be read from photographs.

ORNAMENT: The standing figures are framed under cusped arches, although their summits are truncated by the intervening bands of ornament separating the registers. The arches are depicted as linear bands, springing from basket capitals atop simple, but solid, columns. The column bases are of rather massive form, like small hillocks. The registers are separated alternately by rows of lozenges or roundels formed by intertwining embroidered bands. These frame four-petalled flowers in their centers. Similar floral motifs are deployed in the spandrels of the arches and sprinkled in the backgrounds of the figures. The ends of the stole have two distinct fields of ornament. The first and upper one is broader, and is formed as a pattern of intersecting lozenges with small floral motifs. The lower, narrower band shows a single, central lozenge containing a Hercules knot. Small floral motifs occupy the corners of the field.

LITERATURE: G. Townsend, 'Some Greek Liturgical Embroideries', Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts 42 (1944), 75-78, figs. 4-7.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CA	<i>Cahiers archéologiques</i>
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae
<i>De Cer.</i> (ed.) Reiske	Reiske, J. J., ed. <i>Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae</i> . 2 vols. CSHB (Bonn, 1829–1830).
<i>De Cer.</i> (ed.) Vogt	Vogt, A. (ed.), <i>Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies</i> . 4 vols. (Paris, 1935–1940).
<i>ΔΧΑΕ</i>	<i>Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας</i>
<i>De Off.</i>	Verpeaux, J. (ed.), <i>Pseudo-Kodinos: Traité des offices</i> . (Paris, 1966).
DOC	Bellinger, A., P. Grierson, and M. Hendy. <i>Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection</i> . 5 vols. (Washington, DC, 1966–1999).
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>ΕΕΒΣ</i>	<i>Ἐπετερίς ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
GOTR	<i>The Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
Mansi	Mansi, G. <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> . 53 vols. in 58 parts. (Paris and Leipzig, 1901–1927).
MM	Miklosich, F. and J. Müller, <i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana</i> . 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–1890).
ODB	Kazhdan, A., et al. (eds.), <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . 3 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991).
PG	Migne, J.-P. (ed.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> . 161 vols. in 166 parts. (Paris, 1857–1866).
PL	Migne, J.-P. (ed.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina</i> . 221 vols. in 222 parts. (Paris, 1844–1880).

PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> . 12 vols. (Vienna, 1976–1995).
RbK	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i>
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
Register	Hunger, H., et al. (eds.), <i>Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel</i> . CFHB 19. (Vienna, 1981–).
Regestes	Grumel, V., V. Laurent, and J. Darrouzès (eds.), <i>Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople, I, Les actes des patriarches</i> . (Kadiköy and Paris, 1932–1977).
RP	Rhalles, G. A. and M. Potles (eds.), <i>Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων</i> . 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1859).
TM	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

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Muschamp, 'Let Them Wear Silk: Decadence Before the Fall', *The New York Times*, 30 April 2004.

' H. Koda and A. Bolton, *Dangerous Liaisons: Fashion and Furniture in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 2006).

3 A promising step in this direction has been taken by K. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago, 2003).

4 H. Fuhrman (ed.), *Dos Constitutum Constantine*, *Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui* n.s. 10 (Hanover, 1968), 86-8.

6 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus*, cap. xlii, ed. James Raine, Surtees Society Publications, I (London, 1835), p. 87ff.; quoted in M. Schapiro, 'On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art', in *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York, 1977), 12.

O. Demus, *Die romanische Wandmalerei* (Munich, 1968), 58, figs. 55-7.

7 P. Johnstone, *High Fashion in the Church: The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Leeds, 2002); M. Schuette and S. Muller-Christensen, *A Pictorial History of Embroidery* (New York, 1964).

9 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, sub anno 1246, cited in Donald King, 'Embroidery and Textiles', in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), 159.

8 Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule (Rolls Series) (London, 1884), 107-10.

13 M. Andaloro (ed.), *Nobiles officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo* (Catania, 2006).

10 Although promising new research in this field is beginning to appear in print. See most recently the collection of essays in E. Wetter (ed.), *Iconography of Liturgical Textiles in the Middle Ages*, *Riggisberger Berichte* 18 (Riggisberg, Switzerland, 2010).

Among recent works, see C. Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies*,

Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England (Minneapolis, 1997); S. Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, 2002); E. J. Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia, 2005) and eadem, *Sea of Silk: A Textile Geography of Women's Work in Medieval French Literature* (Philadelphia, 2009); S.-G. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France* (Cambridge, 2007); A. Denny-Brown, *Fortune and Fashion in Late Medieval England* (Columbus, Ohio, forthcoming). My thanks to Andrea Denny-Brown for her advice on this body of literature.

12 A. G. I. Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery* (Oxford, 1938).

14 See Appendix A in this volume.

16 D. Jacoby, 'Late Byzantium between the Mediterranean and Asia, 26.

15 G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris, 1939 and 1947); P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London, 1967). Johnstone's study extends well into the post-Byzantine era.

17 Jacoby, 'Late Byzantium, 26.

18 e.g. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery*, 10.

22 Detailed technical analysis of metal threads from the Norman coronation regalia has been published recently by M. Jaro in M. Andaloro (ed.), *Nobiles officinae: perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo* (Catania, 2006), I, 96-101, II, 163-9.

23 Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 69.

24 Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 70.

25 Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 71. For a detailed technical analysis of the embroidery of a single piece, see A. Muthesius, 'The Thessaloniki Epithios: A Technical Examination, chapter in *Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (London, 2004), 181-8.

19 In the surface couching technique, typical of most Byzantine embroidery, the gold thread remains entirely on the surface of the

cloth. In underside couching, known primarily from the Western Opus Anglican urn but also found on a number of pieces from Ottonian Germany, the couching stitches are made in strong linen thread and are pulled back through the ground textile. The assumption that underside couching was unknown in the Byzantine sphere (Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 67) should be revised in the light of the publication of gold embroidered textiles with underside couching, found in the thirteenth-century Chungul Kurgan burial in the Pontic steppe. W. Woodfin, Y. Rassamakin, and R. Holod, 'Foreign Vesture and Nomadic Identity on the Black Sea Littoral in the Early Thirteenth Century: Costume from the Chungul Kurgan, *Ars Orientalis* 38 (2010), 164-5.

21 Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 66-7.

20 A. Chatzimichali, 'Ta XPV90KAa0apiKa, avpftaTEtva, avpftaKEJLKa, KEVTI)FtaTa, in *Melanges offerts a Octave et Melpo Merlier* (Athens, 1956), vol. 2, 447-98.

28 A. Gonosova in ODB, s.v. 'Embroidery'. The inscription is transcribed in T. Popa, 'Te dhena mbi princet mesjetare shgiptare ne mbishkrimet e kishave tona' (with summary in French: 'Cinginscriptions d'eglises et leur donees sur les princes albanais du moyen age'), *Buletin i Universitetit Shteteror to Tiranes. Seria shkencatshogerore*. 11, no. 2 (1957), 198-9. My thanks to Henry Schilb for bibliography on this object.

29 Philotheos Kokkinos, *Encomium Gregorii Palamae*, 108, PG 151: cols. 629-30; A.-M. Talbot, 'The Miracles of Gregory Palamas by Philotheos Kokkinos', in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London, 2010), 244, 245. I thank Alice-Mary Talbot for sharing this information with me in advance of its publication.

26 See the negative conclusions of A.-M. Talbot, 'Byzantine Monasticism and the Liturgical Arts, in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors* (843-1261), ed. O. Pevny (New York, 2000), 25-7.

27 Millet, *Broderies religieuses*, 13.

31) Philotheos, *Encomium Gregorii*, 108, PG 151: col. 630.

32 C. Vafeiades, 'Epitrachelia with Three-Figure Medallions from Mount Athos: Chronological Topics, *CA* 51 (2003-2004), 159-68.

33 On icon veils and their dedicatory inscriptions, see V. Nunn, 'The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle-Byzantine Period, BMGS 10 (1986), 73-102.

34 For the epitaphios, see I. Petrinski in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 314-15, cat. no. 188; On the Genoa pallio see A. Paribeni, 'Il pallio di San Lorenzo a Genova', in *L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi, 1261-1453*, eds. A. Iacobini and M. della Valle (Rome, 1999), 229-52.

W. Woodfin in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 316-17, cat. no. 190; S. Kalopissi-Verti, 'Patronage and Artistic Production, 85.

36 C. Barber, 'The Monastic typikon for Art Historians, in *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, eds. M. Mullet and A. Kirby (Belfast, 1994), 198-214.

37 J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (eds). (Washington, DC, 2000).

38 MM II, 566-70.

33 On the relative position of gold embroidery in the hierarchy of media, see my article (in preparation) on the correlation of hierarchies of media and hierarchies of courtiers in Pseudo-Kodinos.

40 T. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana and Chicago, 2000).

41 R. Bornert et al. (eds.), *Nicolas Cabasilas: Explication de la Divine Liturgie, Sources chretiennes 4 bis* (Paris, 1967); I. M. Phountoulis, *Θεσσαλονικῆς: Τα Αἰνόμενα τῶν Ἀποστόλων* (Thessaloniki, 1968).

39 The Byzantine ecclesiastical canons and the commentaries on them are found in G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles (eds.), *Χρονολόγιον τῶν Κανόνων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852-1859), hereafter RP. The preserved patriarchal acts are published in V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and J. Darrouzes (eds.), *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I, Les actes des patriarches* (Kadikoy and Paris, 1932-1977), hereafter cited as Regestes.

42 R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du vii^e au x^e siècle* (Paris, 1966).

4' A. Rentel, 'The Origins of the 14th Century Patriarchal Liturgical

44 C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 151.

' Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907.

2 The costume of the minor orders such as subdeacons, anagnostai, deaconesses, and psaltai is much less well documented and will not be treated here. An admirable study of the depictions of psaltai in art is by N. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden, 1986). On the Byzantine monastic habit, see now G. Fauro, 'La `veste degli angeli': alcune note sull'abbigliamento monastico bizantino, in *Bisanzio, la Grecia e l'Italia: Atti della giornata di studi sulla civiltà artistica bizantina in onore di Mara Bonfioli*, ed. A. Iacobini (Rome, 2003), 161-70.

3 A. Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder, RbK V, 745.

4 Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder, 743-4.

6 Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder, 744.

Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder, 743. The clavi, or *~oTaqol*, by the Middle Byzantine period, became restricted to the sticharion of the bishop (cf. Balsamon, *Meditata*, PG 138, cols. 1025D, 1028B. The earlier, general use of the ornament may be seen easily in the mosaic of Justinian and his retinue at San Vitale. F. Deichmann, *Fruhchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden, 1958), fig. 359.

7 Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacra Precatione*, PG 155, col. 652C; *idem*, *De Sacra Liturgia*, PG 155, col. 261D.

§ Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacris Ordinationibus*, PG 155, col. 381C.

9 Ps-Sophronios, *Commentarius Liturgicus*, PG 873, col. 3988D; P. Trempelas, *Ai 7pELS AELTOVpy(aL KaTa Tovs Ev ABti'vao; KwOtKas, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie*, 15 (Athens, 1912), 13b. Cf the diagram of the subdeacon's 'girdle' in Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, fig. 53.

10 Philotheos, Ordo Sacri Ministerii, PG 154, cols. 753A, 756B-D; Trempelas, Tpric AEiTovpyia , 6, 83.

12 a'Er iaraa8E T~v TrvEvµaTLK3v EVOpovv7)v, of Tavr3c yevaαµEVOL Kai µEvv3µEVOL TOW ~plKTvv µvaT77piwV, TWV SEiTovpyWV riffs BEis iEpovpyiac, rww µιμονµevwv Tas Twv a.yyESwV TrTEpvyac raW SerrraCc OBOVa,c raLS cm' TWO apLaTEpww (Aµww KE9reva,c, Kai EV 77j EKK.1779lg TTEptTpEXoVTOV Kai /3owvTwv.» Pseudo-Chrysostom (possibly Severianos of Gabala), In Parabolam de Filio Prodigio, PG 59, col. 520; also Germanos, Historia Ecclesiastica, PG 98, col. 393C; Ps-Sophronios, Commentarius Liturgicus, PG 873, col. 3988D; Symeon of Thessalonike, De Sacris Ordinationibus, PG 155, col. 381C-D; idem, Expositio de Divino Templo, PG 155, col. 712B.

14 P. Trempelas, TpeCs AETovpytat, 2b. The manuscript, Athens Nat. Lib. Panteleimon 770, is securely dated by its title, which refers to the author as Hegoumenos of the Great Laura, the office he held before his election as Patriarch of Constantinople in 1353. R. Taft, 'Mt. Athos, A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite, DOP 42 (1988), 192.

16 Theodore Balsamon, Responsa ad Interrogationes Marci, PG 138, col. 988D.

17 Trempelas, TpeCs AELTovpyial, la.

18 The anterior is not, strictly speaking, a liturgical vestment, but rather part of clerical street dress. C. Pocknee, Liturgical Vesture: Its Origins and Development (Westminster, MD, 1961), 26; Papas, 'Liturgische Gewander, 752.

" In the Diataxis of Philotheos, the deacon makes this gesture fourteen times over the course of the liturgy. Trempelas, TpdS Aeirovpyia,, lb-16b.

13 Symeon of Thessalonike, Expositio de Divino Templo, PG 155, col. 712B-C. Visual evidence confirms Symeon's testimony. The fresco of the Melismos at Studenica (1314), for example, features two deacon angels wearing sticharia, epimanikia, and oraria, who fan the Eucharistic gifts with rhipidia. Their oraria bear crosses and the Slavonic inscription acwI TJ4,» 'Holy'; cf. C. Walter, Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church (London, 1982), fig. 56. Similar iconography appears in the textile arts as well. The deacon angels on the

Thessalonike Epitaphios (early 14th century) wear oraria decorated with the repeated word *atiywos*», separated by crosses (P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* [London, 1967], 31, pl. 96).

19 Diataxis of Philotheos, Trempelas, TpeCs AELTOvpyla , lb-16b; Athens, National Library Cod. 662 (anonymous 12th-13th century diataxis), Trempelas, op. cit., la-16a; British Museum Cod. Add. 34060 (12th-century diataxis from Constantinople), R. Taft, 'The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church According to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex British Museum Add. 34060', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 45 (1979), 284-306.

's Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 20; PG 120, col. 8000; *Regestes I*, no. 866; T. Papas, *Studien zur Geschichte der Messgewänder im byzantinischen Ritus* (Munich, 1965), 81-105.

20 See the preserved examples in A. Ballian (ed.), *A ± a: To Ev4Bµa -W Op008o~ijs EKK.1779ias*, exh. cat., Benaki Museum, Athens (Athens, 1999), 41, 47, cat. nos. 1-3.

21 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 96-7; Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacra Liturgia*, PG 155, col. 256B.

23 Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder, 748.

24 Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder, 748.

22 Papas cites as the first artistic representation of the epitachelion some fresco fragments in H. Irene in Constantinople, dated by Ramazanoglu to the ninth century. M. Ramazanoglu, 'Neue Forschungen zur Architekturgeschichte der Irenen-Kirche and des Komplexes der Sophien-Kirche, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 8 (1953), 233, fig. 6; cited in Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder, 749. The ends of the epitachelion can be seen emerging from beneath the phelonion of clerics in the miniatures of 1066 in the Theodore Psalter (London, B.L. add. 19.352) S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age II* (Paris, 1970), figs. 6, 27, 36, 39, 42, and 48.

25 Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 19; J.-B. Cotelier, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* (Paris, 1677), 129.

26 Symeon of Thessalonike, *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum*, PG 155, col. 868D-869A; idem, *Expositio de Sancto Templo*, PG 155,

col. 713A; Papas, `Liturgische Gewander, 749.

27 Papas, `Liturgische Gewander, 749.

31 The mosaics of the Rotunda in Thessalonike, dated by most authorities to the fifth century, are often claimed as evidence for the use of the phelonion as a liturgical vestment. In fact, lay martyrs and clerics alike are there shown clothed in the phelonion. Chrysostomos, *Orthodox Liturgical Dress* (Brookline, MA, 1981), 45; Papas, `Liturgische Gewander; 754; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 14. The identification of the orant figures has been the subject of some debate. Cf. W. Kleinbauer, 'The Orants in the Mosaic Decoration of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki: Martyr Saints or Donors?' *CA* 30 (1982), 25-45.

28 Papas, `Liturgische Gewander, 749; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche and theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 77.

29 Papas, `Liturgische Gewander, 754.

33 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 236, fig. 110; <Aiperat SE v7ro 7LW XeIpwV EK rr)kayiov Ev 7G1 Kaipou 7wV iepwv Epywv, otoV Ac TrTepa ymVOuevov 8A 7o 477E)ILKOV S a5tac.a Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155, col. 389A; Papas, `Liturgische Gewander; 754.

34 For example, the fresco of Theodore the Studite at Decani. Braun (*Liturgische Gewandung*, 238) is prudently cautious about the extent to which such paintings may be taken to represent actual changes in fashion.

30 Deichmann, *Fruhchristliche Bauten*, figs. 353, 359; A. Terry and H. Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Porec* (University Park, PA, 2007) II, pl. 22, 30, 33. Note that the junior Euphrasius, the son of the Archdeacon Claudius in the mosaics at Porec, also wears a phelonion, even though he was certainly not a priest at the time the mosaic was made. Before the twelfth century, the phelonion was also worn, without an underlying sticharion, by minor orders such as anagnostai. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 98.

32 Taft, `Pontifical Liturgy, 292, n. 37, 296.

37 Trempelas, TpECc AeITovpyia, Ia. However, the *textus receptus* seems to indicate that the deacon's vestments are blessed before the

priest begins his own vesting. See F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1, *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896, repr. 1965), 354-6. The testimony of the Diataxis of Philotheos (Trepelas, TpdC AeITovpyta , lb-2b) is ambiguous, since it does not describe the vesting of the priest.

38 Trepelas, Tpefs AE(Tovpyiat, lb-2b; H.-J. Schultz, *The Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression*, trans. M. J. O'Connell (New York, 1986), 116; Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy' II, 105-7.

36 Papas, 'Liturgische Gewander, 752.

33 Athens, Ethnike Bibliotheke Cod. 662, ed. Trepelas, TpeCc AeITovpyiai, la.

40 Balsamon, *Meditata*, PG 138, cols. 1025D, 1028B; Demetrios Chomatenos, PG 119, col. 949D; Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacra Liturgia*, PG 155, col. 256C; idem, *Expositio de Divino Templo*, PG 155, col. 712C; Papas, 'Liturgische Gewander, 744.

41 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 96.

42 Germanos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PG 98, col. 393C; Pseudo-Sophronios, *Commentarius Liturgicus*, PG 873, col. 3988B.

43 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 96; Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacra ordinatione*, PG 155, cols. 396, 261D, 652C.

44 Liutprand of Cremona, *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* 62, ed. P. Chiesa, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 156 (Turnhout, 1988), 215; Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 666.

45 A. E. J. Gonzalez, 'Further Commentary on the Byzantine Imperial Prototype and Eastern Liturgical Vesture, *GOTR* 21 (1976), 82. The pallium, of course, is a privileged vestment given to primates of the Latin Church by the pope, defined as such by Gregory the Great. *Registrum Epistolarum* I, 27, ed. P. Minard, *Registre des lettres, Sources chretiennes* 370 (1991), 162-4. See also Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 620-64; and more recently B. Berthod, 'Le pallium, insigne des eveques d'Orient et d'Occident, *Bulletin du CIETA* 78 (2001), 14-25.

39 For secular parallels, see E. D. Maguire, *The Rich Life and the Dance: Weavings from Roman, Byzantine and Islamic Egypt*, (Urbana,

IL, 1999), passim, especially nos. A12, B6-7, B12, B27, and C26.

46 Isidore of Pelousion, PG 78, col. 272C, cf. Matthew 18: 12-13; Luke 15: 4-5. The authenticity of the corpus of works attributed to Isidore is currently in dispute.

47 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 665. Cf also the numerous embroidered specimens that survive, often on a woven silk ground (see Appendix).

48 Papas, *‘Liturgische Gewänder*, 752; P. Trempelas, «AKO)ovO(a Too 0arrTlopaToc,» *Theologia* 20 (1949) 57, 59, 436, 644; J. Goar, ed., *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*, 2nd edn. (Venice, 1730, repr. Graz, 1960), 287: < <Ela'pXETat o iEpEVS, Kai aA\aa6WV T)v icpaTtK~v 970A)V ,EVK~v, Kai E7TtµavtKta, Kai aAITO[tcvww rraVTWV T(UV K77pwV...» and 292fi < <Kai µETa To 3arrTi~eaOar rra.vTac, virrTETa, Kai EK/3dA)1EL To .EVTLOV, Kai Ta µavtKia...» I have found no firm confirmation of the dating of the text. It may be that the rubrics refer only to bands to hold back the sleeves of the sticharion from the baptismal water.

54 S. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle, 1999), pl. 71; M. Chatzidakis, *Mystras: The Medieval City and the Castle* (Athens, 1985), 63, pl. 38.

52 Papas, *‘Liturgische Gewänder*, 759; N. Thierry, *‘Le costume episcopal byzantin du IXe au XIIIe siecle d'apres les peintures datees (miniatures, fresques)*, *REB* 24 (1966), 310-14.

49 Michael Keroularios, *Epistolae*, PG 120, col. 800C.

so Papas, *‘Liturgische Gewänder*, 752. Macalister claims that bishops alone have the right to wear epimanikia with the icon of Christ, but he cites no authority. R. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History* (London, 1896), 182. The traditional association of the pair of epimanikia from Novgorod with the hegumen Varlaam of Khutyn' casts considerable doubt on the assertion that figures were exclusively an episcopal right. Cf. N. A. Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery: Byzantium, Balkans, Russia* (Moscow, 1991), 22-3; G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris, 1939, 1947), 58-64, pl. CXVIII-CXXVIII.

si J. W. Legg *Church Ornaments and their Civil Antecedents* (Cambridge, 1917), 74-9, argues that the epigonation descends from

the tablion, a decorative patch of rich material affixed to the chlamys of the emperor and high dignitaries. This view, however, requires an intuitive leap unsupported by visual or textual evidence.

ss Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder, 759; O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), pl. 7.

56 Papas, *Geschichte der Messgewänder*, 131; PG 120, col. 800C.

57 Balsamon, *Responsa ad Marcum*, PG 138, col. 988D; Papas, 'Liturgische Gewänder', 759.

58 On this official, the Epi ton gonaton see *De Off.*, 318; Diataxis of Gemistos, in A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei* (Kiev, 1895-1917, repr. Hildesheim, 1965), II, 302.

62 Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy, 106.

63 Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy, 102.

64 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, II, 302-3. The same custom is apparent in the *Expositio de divino templo* of Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155, cols. 717-20, and in the diataxis of the Andreas Skete on Mt Athos, Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie* I, 168.

66 E76 T(Uv diμwv, XpUaTE, Ttiw rrkavPBeLaav apac ~vaiv, avaAOBeis Ti Oew Kai Harpi 7rpoati)yayes. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie* II, 302.

67 Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy, II, 107-10.

60 De Cer., ed. Vogt, I.1, 10-13, 58-60, 69, 122-3, 134-5, 154-5, 170; cited in Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy, 102, n. 63.

61 Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy, 102; J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Eglise II, Le cycle des fetes mobiles*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 166 (Rome, 1963), 302-3.

ss Papas (*Geschichte der Messgewänder*, 131) cites an obviously added passage in Germanos' commentary, omitted in the edition of Borgia, which mentions the encherion: oT 8E cyXeipiov ro E7ri T5) ~wv3c, Eari ro arrop,afav rdc XECpac av,o6 AEV7LOV' Kai 7 C'OVKe ro EyXeipiov EXew, E7ri 73 ~wv3S, avrirvrrov Too arroud f avroc Tac Xeipac, Kai rov «AB(;,vos eiµi» erriowvs)aavros» (PG 98, col.

396B). The composition history of Germanos' commentary is still in some doubt, and the text awaits a modern critical edition.

59 Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacra Liturgia*, PG 155, cols. 261D-264A; Papas, 'Liturgische Gewander, 759.

72 Kabasilas, *Explication*, 366, 372-4.

68 Isidore of Pelousion, PG 78, col. 272D.

70 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie II*, 310.

71 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie II*, 314-15; Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacra Liturgia*, PG 155, col. 293C; idem, *Expositio de Divino Templo*, PG 155, cols. 724C, 740D; Nicholas Kabasilas, *Explication de la divine liturgie*, ed. R. Bornert, *Sources chretiennes* 4 (Paris, 1967), 372-4. In the modern usage, there is a second, 'little otnophorion' that is worn for short intervals between the Cheroubikon and the communion. No pre-modern liturgical manual mentions such a vestment, which Taft believes developed from the normal otnophorion doubled over and worn across the back of the neck. Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy, II, 103.

61 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie II*, 302.

69 Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy, I, 290-1; 306-7.

73 «`O yap jpT t'GKOTrOS Eis 7V9rOV WV 7071 Xpta7OV TO EpyOV EKE6VOV Kat BEiKVVat rraat 7o6 aX71µa7oc OTt µtµ)7) Ea7t 704 ayaOov Kai µEya.kov rroi ± EVOc 0 7as aiBEvciaç cbEpEty 704 7rotµvtov TypoocOA77 Evoc. Kai rpoaXES Q.Kpt/3wc. HvtKa yap av7oc o D770tvoc rrotµtiw rrapayEv77Tai b(a 7r")s Twv Evayy0iww 7WV rpoaKVV)7wV ava7rT6~Ewc, Kai v7raviaTaTa[Kai a7ro7i8E7at 70 aX~fta Ti~s fbtftl)(EWI; O ETria KO7TOc, av7ov 877z \wv TrapECvat TOT' Kvptov, TOT' 7rotµavTtKti)s)yEµova, Kai BEOV, Kai 8Ea7ro7)v.» Isidore of Pelousion, PG 78, col. 272C-D.

74 C. Walter, 'Saints of Second Iconoclasm in the Madrid Skylitzes, ch. in *Pictures as Language: How the Byzantines Exploited Them* (London, 2000), 378-9, fig. 8; Moran, *Singers*, 61.

76 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 237, fig. 111, where the manuscript is incorrectly dated to the early eleventh century. On the date and the circumstances of commission of the Vatican homilies and the parallel copy in Paris, see J. Anderson, 'The Illustrated Sermons of

James the Monk: Their Dates, Order and Place in the History of Byzantine Art, *Viator* 22 (1991), 69-120.

77 Papas, `Liturgische Gewänder, 755; RP II, 260.

71 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 237; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 122, pl. 78. In a close copy of the Vatican manuscript, Moscow Syn. Gr. 429, the polystaurion is extended also to St Gregory Nazianzenus, presumably on the logical basis that he, too, had been Patriarch of Constantinople. I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), 128, pl. 83. For further observations on the manuscript and its relation to the Moscow version, see P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, `The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), 149-51.

78 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 237; Papas, `Liturgische Gewänder, 755; Theodore Balsamon, *Responsa ad Marcum*, PG 138, col. 989A; idem, *Meditata*, PG 138, cols. 1020C, 1025D, 1028B.

79 PG 155, col. 872B.

80 For a concentrated selection of images of polystauria in paintings from Byzantine Macedonia, see the illustrations in Gerstel, *Beholding*, pl. I, II, IV, and 13-74 *passim*.

82 V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), 165-6, pl. 140.

\$~ S. Pelekanides, *Kastoria* (Athens, 1985), 23, 26-8, fig. 4.

83 Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 14-15.

84 Cf. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), 88-91, 103.

85 *Regestes*, no. 2583; MM I, 522-3.

86 But see the fragments of the 16th-century polystaurion preserved in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, inv. No. XAE 2123/T1267.

87 Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 17, pl. 4. According to Walter, this is the unique image of bishops wearing the penitential sakkos.

88 Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 17.

90 De Off., 200, 201, 224, 256, 264.

,19 ODB, s.v. `sakkos, 1830. The argument by E. Piltz (Trois sakkoi byzantines: Analyse iconographique, *Figura*, n.s. 17 (Uppsala, 1976), 13-17), identifying the sakkos with the Middle Byzantine sagion, is refuted by Alexander Kazhdan, ODB, s.v. `sagion, 1828. See also M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)* (Leiden, 2003), 22-4.

92 PG 119, cols. 949D-952A.

93 PG 119, col. 952A.

94 Symeon of Thessalonike, *Responsa ad Gabrielem*, PG 155, cols. 869D-872B. The bishops of Turnovo and Pec claimed the title of patriarch in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, respectively, although Symeon seems not to acknowledge their claims.

96 Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 17. The figure of Nicholas Kabasilas «NLKO(Ados) rravayia'iraros apX(iE)"rriuKOrros rraarjs Bov.yap(ias) 'rrpw(ros) EK Xep/3ias» is problematic, since he is not known ever to have assumed ecclesiastical office. Walter cites C. Grozdanov, 'Prilozi poznanju srednojevekovne umetnosti Ohrida', *Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti* 2 (1966), 199-207, pl. 1. Perhaps the figure is to be identified as Neilos (a.k.a. Nicholas) Kabasilas, metropolitan of Thessalonike (1361-1363) or Constantine Kabasilas, archbishop of Ochrid (c. 1259). ODB, s.v. `Kabasilas, 1087.

91 RP IV, 478, 546; Balsamon, *Responsa ad Marcum*, PG 138, col. 989A; idem, *Meditata*, PG 128, cols. 1020C, 1025D-1028B.

91 Symeon of Thessalonike, *De Sacra Liturgia*, PG 155, col. 260B-C; idem, *Expositio de Divino Templo*, PG 155, col. 716A.

98 The dangers of attributing more precision to the use of technical terminology than the texts warrant are amply demonstrated in K. Wessel's review of E. Piltz, *Kamelaukion et Mitra* (BZ 72, [1979]), 115-16.

101 ο 8c BEKKWV (bop(Zw T)v 1ttTpav,) \EyETai, 8aKTVAt8Lov ELs Toy aUTo6 tiyovv To ai)μECov Too TalTa. `Dialogue of Panagiotes and the Azymite, A. Vasiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), 179.

102 Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 30; M. Theocharis in *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery*, ed. A. Kominis (Athens, 1988), 198.

99 On the spurious grounds that it was given as a privilege to St Cyril of Alexandria by Pope Celestine for having represented him at the Council of Ephesus (as later explicated by Symeon of Thessalonike). Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 494; Theodore Balsamon, PG 137, col. 488; idem, PG 119, col. 1177.

Loo Symeon of Thessalonike, *Expositio de Divino Templo*, PG 155, cols. 716C-717B; idem, *Responsa ad Gabrielem*, PG 155, cols. 872B-873B.

97 The most famous mention of a mitre in Byzantine literature is open to question. The quote from Doukas has been traditionally read as comparing the calamity of seeing the Turkish turban in Constantinople to the Latin mitre: ἀΚρεῖττον Τεποῦ ΕΓΤΛV ΕἰβΕva, Εῦ μΕa,,q Τ'~q Troke, ~aKiokiov /3aai.etov Tov'pKwv ~ Ka)w'irTpav AaTIVIKti)v.» Dieter Reinsch has recently reinterpreted the passage as a reference to the crown of the Angevins. Doukas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantina*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 329; D. Reinsch, 'Lieber den Turban als was?' in *OfA AA77v: Studies in Honour of Robert Browning* (Venice, 1996), 377-89.

104 Harpia.pX3s 80 E7TEL αμcigErv obK Ev3v, Ei0 IVO7Epov7i EpiEar~aE7o aX"IF"a• Kai Ev re rats v-rroya~aCc, Y)EpavEW Xpmμari EXp3TO, Kai Em 7ti)s KE(~a33g Ka2v7rpav (sic),)v robs - TrarpiapXas EBOS ~EpE,v, dv μ~ Toy rayμaros (Lai TIUv μova~ovrwv, 080V3 Z\EVK?) 710p101A77μμEv3v rrpOTEpov, avTos KaTEKOaμl)uE Xpva(u, ELKOVas roll rE XpIOTO6 13906 Kai r'I~S TEavovcn1s abrov a.Xpa.VTOV OEOTOKOV, Kai'Iwavvov rov BaTITLGTOO. John Kantakouzenos, *Historia III*, 36, PG 153, col. 909A-B; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 29, where he interprets the headdress described as a sort of cowl.

106 V. J. juric, S. Cirkovic, V. Korac, Pecka patrijarsija (Belgrade, 1990), 236-7, pl. 153, 154. Traces of later overpainting on the headgear appear to have been meant to bring it into conformity with the bulbous form of the modern Orthodox mitre.

107 Millet, *Broderies*, 71, pl. 152-3; E. Piltz, *Kamelaukion et mitra: Insignes byzantins imperiaux et ecclesiastiques*, *Figura n.s.* 15 (Uppsala, 1977), 71, 151, pl. 181a-b.

103 Chrysostomos, Orthodox Liturgical Dress, 62; Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 491 (with reservations as to an exact date). Its general use by simple bishops, however, does not appear to pre-date the eighteenth century. Papas, *‘Liturgische Gewänder*, 768.

101 ODB, s.v. *‘Headgear*, 904. The donor portrait in the Serbian Gospels of Jakov of Serres (London, BL Add. Ms. 39626), dated 1354, shows the metropolitan standing at a lectern vested in polystaurion and omophorion and wearing a dark, hemispherical hat, which may correspond to the black hat worn by monastic clergy. See the colour reproduction in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (1261-1557) (New York, 2004), 54, cat. no. 25.

109 A. Boschokov, *La peinture bulgare des origines au XIXe siècle* (Recklinghausen, 1974), 215-17, pl. 110; A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), 324-5, 334-6, fig. 43.

10 C. Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris, 1970), 80, fig. 37; Grabar, *Peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, 279-80, pl. XLVII.

108 S. Mileusnic in Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 304, cat. no. 179. Compare also the similar example in Belgrade: L. Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnički vez* (Belgrade, 1940), 36-7, pl. XVII.

112 Cf. Asterios of Amaseia, Homilia I, PG 40, cols. 165-8, partial translation in C. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 312-1453 (Toronto, 1986), 50-1; Theodoret of Cyrillus, *De providential oratio* IV, PG 83, col. 617. For a fuller discussion of this problem, see H. Maguire, *‘Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period*, DOP 44 (1990), 215-24; *idem.*, *‘Magic and the Christian Image*, in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC, 1995), 51-71. For examples of Early Byzantine textiles with figural imagery, see F. Friedman (ed.), *Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries A.D.*, exh. cat., Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, 1989); E. D. Maguire (ed.), *Weavings from Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic Egypt*; and M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Tissus coptes* (Paris, 1990), 124-46.

''' The study by Papas assigns very early dates to several pieces of exceptional quality; e.g. the very fine XIVc. Epitrachelion of the Hieromonk Dositheos in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (fig. 2.12, below), is dated to the ninth or tenth century (*Geschichte der Messgewänder*, 178). Such an attribution is untenable in the light of

both stylistic and historical evidence.

111 For an incontrovertibly pre-iconoclastic example of silk-weaving with a Christian subject, see L. Kotzche, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung: Bemerkungen zur Iconographie der Szenenfolge, in *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spatantiken Agypten*, Riggisberger Berichte 1 (Riggisberg, 1993); M. Flury-Lemberg, *Textile Conservation and Research* (Bern, 1988), 367-9.

These fragments have been variously dated from the sixth to the ninth centuries. Otto von Falke placed the Vatican silks in his sixth-century Alexandrian group (O. v. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, I [Berlin, 1913], 51-2). Von Falke's dating was challenged by Volbach, who linked the silk fragments to entries in the *Liber Pontificalis* to propose a date in the late eighth century (W. F. Volbach, *Catalogo del Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, III.1, 1 Tessuti [Rome, 1942], 39-40, pl. 29-31; idem, *Early Decorative Textiles* [Feltham, 1969], 96-7). Volbach's late dating of the pieces has been influential among recent textile historians: Leonie von Wilckens subscribes to the eighth-century date for the pieces, while Muthesius places the fragments in the ninth century, after the end of iconoclasm (v. Wilckens, *Die textilen Künste*, 38-41; A. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving A.D. 400 to A.D. 1200* [Vienna, 1997], 67). M. Martiniani-Reber follows Volbach's argument in placing the similar Annunciation fragment from Baume-les-Messieurs in a late eighth- or early ninth-century context (in J. Durand (ed.), *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* [Paris, 1992], 192). A dissenting view has come from A. Gonosova, who points out the similarities in border motifs between the Vatican Annunciation and Nativity silks and Egyptian tapestry weaves imitating high-status figural silks that were presumably woven in Egypt. Because of the economic and technical resources needed to create such textiles on a drawloom, those silks with Christian subjects must predate the Arab conquest of Egypt in the 640s (A. Gonosova, 'On the Alexandrian Origin of the Vatican Annunciation and Nativity Silks, Sixteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers [Baltimore, 1990], 9-10). If they do date to the period between the iconoclast persecutions, as has been recently argued by Leslie Brubaker (in L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680-850): The Sources, an Annotated Survey* [Aldershot, 2001], 90-2), they have no successors among surviving Middle Byzantine textiles.

TTpo(KVVI aaL, ~ aTT aaL EV O1KW, 1 KpvibaL, EL fAEV
ETTIAKOTTOS 7 TTPEO/3VTEpOS T] 81a.KOVOS ELEV,
KaOalpELaOw • E6 8E Aova~wv ij .1aIKOS, avaOEµaT1~Ea8w ...
Mansi, XIII, col. 328. The life of Anthousa of Mantineon reports that
textiles bearing Christian images were seized and defaced by the
iconoclasts. Maguire, "Magic and the Christian Image", 53-4.

19 Akty russkago na sviatom Afone monasteryia sv. velikomuchenika
i tselitelia Panteleimona (Kiev, 1873), 54.

116 Text and translation from N. Tanner, Decrees of the Ecumenical
Councils (Washington, DC, 1990), I, 135-6.

117 V. Nunn, 'The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle
Byzantine Period', BMGS 10 (1986), 99-100.

120 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten (Berlin and New
York, 1975), 18; trans. H. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of
Niketas Choniates* (Detroit, 1984), 52. See also Choniates' description
of the ill-fated entry of Manuel Komnenos and the Seljuk sultan in
1162. *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, 119.

'21 A. Guillou, 'Inscriptions byzantines d'Italie sur tissu, in AETOX:
Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango, eds. I. Sevicenko and I. Hotter
(Stuttgart, 1998), 172-3; H. Hahnloser (ed.), *Il tesoro di San Marco*
(Florence, 1971), 95.

122 F. Dolger, 'Zwei byzantinischen Fahnen in Halberstadter
Domschatz, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie
des Mittelalters*, Supplementband 3, pt. 2 (1935), 1358-1360; W.
Woodfin, 'Liturgical Textiles, in Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and
Power*, 295-6.

123 T. Matakieva-Lilkova and A. A. Aletta in V. Pace (ed.), *Treasures
of Christian Art in Bulgaria* (Sofia, 2001), 206-7, cat. no. 75; the
embroidery was described by N. P. Kondakov, *Makedoniia:
Arkheologicheskoe putesthestvie* (St Petersburg, 1909), 270-1, but
incorrectly dated to the fifteenth century.

11,1 V. Grumel, 'Le <<miracle habituel>> de Notre-Dame des
Blachernes, *Echos d'Orient* 30 (1931), 136. For further discussion of
the Blachernai miracle, see now B. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The
Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006), 154-61.

125 C. Diehl, 'Le tresor et la bibliotheque de Patmos au commencement du 13e siecle', BZ I (1892), 488-525. Critical edition in C. Astruc, 'L'inventaire dresse en septembre 1200 du tresor et de la bibliotheque de Patmos, edition diplomatique, Travaux et memoires 8 (1981), 15-30.

126 ErrLTpaXlivL KEVTLTa 9TEVTE' ETrLp.av6Kba KaVTLTa ~vyai TpECS' E9rLyOVaTLa KEVTLTa Tpia, thy To EV ~oOos, Ta aμhorepa μETa Ev Traz\auuv. Astruc, "Inventaire", 22. Diehl translated < < vbvr~ Trakaaa μeyaa77 E'v~wSos ~ Tov HarpLapXov» as 'one chasuble ancienne a figures, dite du Patriarche' (Astruc, 'Inventaire, 22; Diehl, 'Tresor, 495). The context in which endyte appears elsewhere indicates, however, that this is part of a listing of altar cloths, not vestments.

127 It has recently been established that the monastery's name is properly Boreine, not Koteine or Skoteine as was previously thought. J. Thomas and A. Hero, Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents (Washington, DC, 2000), 1176, 1179. My thanks to Alice-Mary Talbot for bringing this finding to my attention.

128 'ETrLTpaXi ALa `ETepov XpvaoKAa/3apLK6V. 'Em[LCLVLKa XpvaOKAaOapLKa XaLp(TLapoc Kai ~ avaaaaLs• ETEpaL ~vyai Svo. S. Evstratiades, Al EV O(AaSeA~eia MOVE T)s virepayiag OE076KOV KoTELVjs,» Hellenika 3 (1930), 331-2.

124 D. Ainalov, Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst zur Zeit des Grossfurstentums Moskau (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933), 116.

129 M5SEis T(Q)V EV K\1pw KaTakEyoμcvvw avoiKEtov EaB'9Ta, a. 1EVVVaBW, Ev TroAEt Ev olw /3ali~av KEXp9)aOw Tats 91P TO6s EvKk'9pw TO ro,oiTOV, ETrL E/3SOFa.ala Fp,iav a.~opi~EaBw. Mansi XI, col. 956.

130 RP, II, 364-5.

131 RP, II, 622-4.

132 Kai robs iepyuevovc 8E ιμα7iois EK μE7a~W,) EK), vov eipyau K?oic, 3j 3aμwKivolc, Kai EK μE;avoc Xp('Fta7oc OE3aμμEvoic, Kara roes raw rra7Epow Kavovac. L. K. Goetz, 'Die kanonisches Antworten des Metropoliten Johann II. (1080-1089), in Kirchenrechtliche and kulturgeschichtliche Denkmifler Altrusslands (Stuttgart, 1905, reprint Amsterdam, 1963), 132.

'33 Michael Keroularios, PG 120, col. 793; Kolbaba, Byzantine Lists, 23-4.

134 PG 120, cols. 799-800; Kolbaba, Byzantine Lists, 95. Peter of Antioch predates, of course, the hardening of anti-Latin sentiments in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

iss OUTS OE EK μETa.571c Ea(∼Tas ,rerrolKiAtdvas (aliTai yap ai a)plKat, (LS am' mto(uv yuvoμipEVaL• a3pES yap of uK(LA97KES 3EyoVtal) of iEpaTLKOi Trakal EVE8E8VVTO, AEyE1 7∼ oOTE TLVa ETepoXpoa err1/Lk3μaTa 9rpoaETiBEaav Ev TOL\$ aKpoLc TGiv μuariwv avTwv• Kai err11EpE1 To EvayyE\1KOV p777OV. RP II, 623.

136 AiT(wμ?Vam SE 7wv kap7rpELμovo6vTwv KA9)plKwv b1a iμaTiwv)kEyo ± Evwv E6aμiTwv, EXovTwv ov μovov E7EpoXpoa av7irrava, a.1.1a Kai XpvaoT aa7a, Trpos bE Kai ypaμμαTa 9rokvTEk3) XpvaQ, E L9r(V TLVES Toy Kavova EK∼wV3)B3va1 8ta T3v TOTE opllaav a7a∼iav Eis lac EKK k7 aas, Kai 7∼v 9ro.t.∼V 7wV K.19)plKwV. al)μEpOV EXELV X(Jpav 7a 706 Kavovos, QEov XapL7L 9r2ad. Ea71V EKK19)alaa7LK3 Ka7aa7aa,s Kai EU\ a/3ELa,pKai 9rpoc 7LF ± 3V' O COO 01 K\3)p1KOi μETa b/ba76wv' 21aμ7rpo7Epwv 9rok1TEUovTa1• μ3 Kakws tEyELV' KaOo)aKOS yap E97LV O Kav(Lv' Kai Eis aLwvas aLwvwv 7a EV av7w Kpa7ECV Kai EvEpyECv VEi.ova1V• of 8c Trapa TOVTOV KaAws E°rr17Lμ3)03aov7a1, E6 μ3 8LOpBWBwa1V. RP II, 624.

137 The Late Byzantine canonist Matthew Blastares in his *Syntagma kata stoicheion* (1335) collects the canonical legislation related to vestments under the heading < < Tkpi Evbvμca-wv a.μubiww ToCc but he adds no new commentary. RP VI, 251-2.

140 G. Millet, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie*, III (Paris, 1962), pl. 16.1.

141 G. Subotic, *Art of Kosovo: The Sacred Land* (New York, 1998), pl. 25.

138 Gerstel apparently overlooked this example when citing the later occurrence of figural vestments at the Hodegetria (Afendiko) in Mistra. Gerstel, *Beholding*, 2, pl. 71.

139 P. Miljkovic-Peppek, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij* (Skopje, 1967), pl. VI.

142 S. S. Averintsev, et al. (eds.), *Khristianstvo, entsiklopedicheski slovar'* (Moscow, 1993), s.v. Varlaam, prepodovnyi.

143 Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery*, 22, pl. 3, 4.

144 There exists one Serbian (?) pair from the sixteenth century that features the deesis on one cuff and the Virgin and Child between angels on the other. Papas, *Geschichte der Messgewänder*, 98.

146 Muller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder*, 27; v. Wilckens, *Hl. Willibald*, 98.

'45 Both Muller-Christensen and von Wilckens date the epitachelion to the twelfth century. L. von Wilckens in B. Appel, E. Braun, and S. Hofmann (eds.), *Hl. Willibald 787-1987: Kunder des Glaubens* (Eichstatt, 1987), 100-2; S. Muller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1955), 27. It is tempting to speculate that the embroidered orphrey might have suggested-through its association with opus Anglicanum-the connection with the Anglo-Saxon missionary St Willibald.

147 Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments*, 175.

148 Cf the remarks on the evolution of the liturgical rite itself in Taft, *Mt. Athos*, 194.

3 The newer image cycles cited above tend to appear in subsidiary spaces such as the narthex and side chapels. Cf. G. Babic, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris, 1969).

' Compare the fresco cycles discussed in S. Dufrenne, 'L'enrichissement du programme iconographique dans les églises byzantines du XIII^e siècle', in *L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle* (Belgrade, 1967) 35-46; eadem, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1970); J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire Byzantin et en Occident* (Brussels, 1964); T. Mark-Weiner, 'Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art, Ph.D. diss., (New York University, 1977); D. I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz: Der Ritus-das Bild* (Munich, 1965); A. Patzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1989); N. P. Sevicenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983).

2 O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1948).

4 The literature on the dodekaorton is extensive. Among recent publications, see E. Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art, *CA* 36 (1988), 51-73; J.-M. Spieser, 'Liturgie et programmes iconographiques, *Travaux et memoires* 11 (1991), 575-90; and idem, 'Le developpement de templon et les images des Douze Fetes, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique beige de Rome* 69 (1999), 131-64; G. Passarelli, *Icone delle dodici grandi feste bizantine* (Milan, 1998). For the iconographic details of each scene, see the still fundamental G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'evangile aux XVe, XVe et XVIe siecles* (Paris, 1916).

5 Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle', 51.

6 The fact that the scenes almost always follow the sequence of their historical occurrence rather than the calendrical order of their liturgical commemoration presents a serious obstacle to Demus's reading of the cycle as a reflection of the "I symbolic" time of the liturgical cycle'. Cf. Demos, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, 16.

7 The early thirteenth-century church of the Panagia Monasgou at Monagri in Cyprus is the only example known to Kitzinger. Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle', 53.

9 The first evidence for the Feast Cycle in the decoration of churches comes from the literature of the later ninth century. Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle', 53; T. Mathews, 'The Sequel to Nicea II in Byzantine Church Decoration, *Perkins Journal of Theology* XLI, No. 3 (1988), 11-21; reprinted in *Art and Architecture in Byzantium and Armenia: Liturgical and Exegetical Approaches* (London, 1995).

13 Spieser, 'Developpement du templon, 139-40; P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du Sebaste Gregoire Pakourianos, *REB* 42 (1984) 73, 121.

10 The literature on the subject is vast. See most recently the contributions by R. Taft, S. Kalopissi-Verti, and S. Gerstel in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West* (Washington, DC, 2006). Another recent collection of essays on the sanctuary barrier and its decoration may be found in A. M. Lidov (ed.), *Ikonostas: Proiskhozhdenie, razvitie, simbolika* (Moscow, 2000). Other recent articles include C. Walter, 'A New Look at the Byzantine

Sanctuary Barrier, REB 51 (1993), 203-28; and J.-M. Spieser, 'Le développement de l'icône, cited above. A classic exposition of the argument for a late emergence of the closed iconostasis is found in A. W. Epstein, 'The Middle-Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 134 (1981), 1-28.

\$ Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle, 51-2.

11 T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1971), 168-71.

12 E. Smirnova, 'Eleventh-Century Icons from St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod and the Problem of the Altar Barrier, in Bv~avTw'c ELKOVES: TEXV), TEXVUfl) Kai TEXvokoyia, ed. M. Vassilaki (Heraklion, 2002), 21-34.

16 Megiste Laura, epitachelion 4. Its inscription reads, <4VTpov iepEws//Kai cKevo('kaKOS Tic Mcya)1'is 'EKK k aias.» Millet, *Broderies*, 54-6, pl. CX-CXII; W. Woodfin, 'Liturgical Textiles, in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, (New York, 2004), 298.

1a S. Bettini, 'Venice, the Pala d'Oro, and Constantinople, in *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, exh. cat. (London, 1984), 52-60.

' G. and M. Soteriou, *EiKOVes T* Movils XLV6*. (Athens, 1958), 111-12, pl. 112-16; A. W. Carr in Evans, H., and W. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (New York, 1997), 377-9; D. Mouriki in *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis (Athens, 1990), 102-24; K. Weitzmann, 'Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai, *JEATiov T~s XploTlavtK)~s ApXaio)koyLK)~s `ETaLpeias* 12 (1984), passim 66-86.

17 Few of the inscriptions are legible. Millet discerns ...00caBE Ttiv fwi)v [recte: ~wti)v] vmoav Kpeμ(aμrv7)v) ('You shall see your life suspended [before your eyes]', cf. Deut. 28, 66) on the scroll held by Moses over the scene of the Crucifixion (*Broderies*, 54).

18 The presentation of the feasts is in calendar order on the stole, representing a departure from their normative sequence in Byzantine monumental art. Thus the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, celebrated on 2 February, has exchanged places with the Baptism,

commemorated on 6 January. The Transfiguration has been moved to immediately precede the Dormition of the Virgin based on their respective dates of celebration, 6 and 15 August. Cf. Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle', 52, 67; Millet, *Broderies*, 54.

19 D. Mouriki, 'The Wall Paintings of the Pantanassa at Mistra, in S. Curcic and D. Mouriki (eds.), *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, 1991), 219-22; Dufrenne, *Programmes iconographiques*, 14-15; D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase* (London, 1968), 178-81.

20 The 'Great Church' is, of course, Hagia Sophia, although the use of the title was continued in post-Byzantine Patriarchal documents long after the seat of the patriarchate was moved to the Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos. Unfortunately, no skeuophylax of the Great Church named Peter appears in the PLP.

21 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ [ETriTpaX2j2lov] $\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$, EXOV Kai rac 8Ec7roTLKac EopTas» MMII, 568. The literal meaning of $\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$, to judge from its usage throughout the inventory, seems to be 'applied with wire, that is to say, couched with metal filaments. Cf. D. Demetrakos, MEya)ke~LKOV 7?7s EAA9)V LKl)s yAwaaIJc (Athens, 1950), s.v. $\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$.

22 Similar examples include the epitachelion of Alexandru cel Bun from Staraia Ladoga in Romania (now presumed lost); a stole from the monastery of Bistrita, now in the National Historical Museum in Bucharest; and a stole at the monastery of Putna. Millet, *Broderies*, 6-7, 8-9.

23 Millet, *Broderies*, 9-10, pl. IX-XII; 'Icpa MEyiaT' Mov' Barorrai8iov: 17apa8oarc-`IGTopia-TEXvij, vol. 2 (Mt. Athos, 1996), 437-8, pl. 369.

26 Omophorion at Ochrid: Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez*, 57, no. 34, pl. 10-11. Omophorion at Putna: Paradais, Putna, 326-9; Tafrali, *Tresor*, 66-8, no. 107, pl. 55-8.

28 A similar scheme of crosses and angles, without figural embroidery, is found on the fourteenth-century Sakkos of Metropolitan Aleksei. A. Goncharova et al. *State Armoury in the Moscow Kremlin* (Moscow, 1969), pl. 25.

29 Several of the inscriptions, although not all, found on the Minor Sakkos match the ones recommended by the Painter's Manual of Dionysios of Fournà (early eighteenth century). Dionysios of Fournà, Hermeneia (ed.), A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St Petersburg, 1909), 79-82; trans. P. Hetherington, The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysios of Fournà (London, 1974), 29-31.

24 Mayasova, Medieval Pictorial Embroidery, 24-7. A similar omophorion which must also date to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century is preserved in Vatopaidi Monastery. Its four crosses carry images of the Crucifixion, Christ carrying the cross, the Deposition, and the Anastasis. M. Theocharis in 'Icpa MeyiGTP Mov' vol. 2, 433-5 (as sixteenth century).

25 Moscow, Kremlin Armoury, No. TK-2471. Mayasova, Medieval Pictorial Embroidery, 24.

27 A terminus post quem is provided by the image of St Peter of Moscow on the original portion of the vestment. His canonization in 1339 was, exceptionally, sanctioned by the Patriarch of Constantinople John XIV Kalekas. J. Meyendorff, Byzantium and the Rise of Russia (Cambridge, 1981), 156; H. Hunger et al. (eds.), Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel II (Vienna, 1995), no. 122, 164-6 (= MM I, 191). On the dating of the Minor Sakkos, see most recently A. Barkov, "Malyi sakkos Mitropolita Fotiia" iz sobraniia muzeev moskovskogo Kremlia: problemy stilii i datirovki', in Moskovskii kreml'XIV veka (Moscow, 2009), 349-75.

30 ws 7rpo/3arov [E1ri ucbyr)v ~XB"l.] Isaiah 53: 7.

31 t'600 Eyc~ cicpw eis uqas arv(Eop)a Ezekiel 37: 5.

32 Mayasova, Medieval Pictorial Embroidery, 50. John VIII was not officially crowned as co-emperor until 1421, a fact that has led some scholars to date the Major Sakkos after this event. The objection to his depiction as basileus, with loros, crown, and halo, can be easily dismissed, since John is represented in the same way in the imperial family portrait of Louvre Ms. Ivoires 100, fol. 2r, presented to the Abbey of Saint-Denis in 1408. I. Spatharakis, The Portrait, 139-43, pl. 93.

33 Compare the antithetical juxtapositions of the Dormition with other narrative images in monumental painting cited by H. Maguire, Art and Eloquence in Byzantium (Princeton, 1981), 59-74.

34 For an historiographic overview, see Cutler, 'Under the Sign of the Deesis, 145-54.

37 e.g. D. Mouriki, 'A Deesis Icon in the Art Museum, Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University 28 (1968), 13-28.

38 e.g. Walter, 'Two Notes on the Deesis; 311-36; idem., 'Further Notes on the Deesis', 161-87. The intercessory sense is stressed, however, in Walter's more recent article, 'A New Look, 223.

39 Cf. Der Nersessian, 'Le decor des eglises du IXe siecle, 315-20. Such an interpretation of the deesis is implied in an epigram of John Geometres on the (lost) mosaic of the Studios Basilica. W. Woodfin, 'A Majestas Domini in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', CA 51 (2003/2004), 45-7.

31 e.g. the church of St Barbara at Sogangh in Cappadocia (AD 1006 or 1021), St Nikoloas at Myra (early twelfth century), and the Hermitage of St Neophytos in Paphos (AD 1183). See also S. Brooks, 'Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration: Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes'. DOP 60 (2006), 223-48.

96 Q.Va.KMELS E7TL Tti)S Otaov aUTOV Ev TO.) TO9rw, CV Gl 3 T)E OEOTOKOV Kai Toll apXayye)tov BECai Eia)V e)KOVes E6s 6E3)auV Trpos Tov awT7)pa TEivofiEvay 3)pEua Ti)) 8ia XEipwv ayyE\wv 9rapa6E6oKE TO OEw. Acta Sanctorum Novembris III, 560E; Cutler, 'Under the Sign of the Deesis, 147.

41 Cf. A. W. Carr, 'Gospel Frontispieces from the Comnenian Period, Gesta 21 (1982), 6.

42 R. Cormack and E. J. W. Hawkins, 'The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: The Rooms above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp, DOP 31 (1977), 212-31, 235-44, pl. A-D, figs. 26-47. I find myself at variance with Cormack and Hawkins's opinion (p. 244) that later textual formulations on the doctrine of images are not already implicit in the image.

43 T. Whittemore, The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul: The Deesis Panel of the South Gallery (Boston, 1952), 23-6. See also Nelson, 'The Chora and the Great Church', 79-81.

4° Cutler, 'Under the Sign of the Deesis, 146. For the inflection of the deesis image by its local or civic context, see R. Nelson, 'The

Chora and the Great Church: Intervisuality in Fourteenth-Century Constantinople, BMGS 23 (1999), 67-101.

44 R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Giessen, 1963), 23-4, pl. 108-10.

47 Soteriou and Soteriou, *EiKOVES*, 112-14, pl. 117-24; J. Folda in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, cat. no. 235, 379-81.

48 Weitzmann, *Icon Programs*, 87-9; E. N. Tsigaridas in A. Karakatsanis, et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Mount Athos*, 2nd edn., exh. cat. (Thessalonike, 1997), 87-91. See also the remains of a similar group from Chilandar Monastery, *ibid.* 91-3.

49 L. A. Schennikova, *Древнерусский высокий иконостас XIV-начала XV в.: Итоги и перспективы изучения*, in *Иконостас: Происхождение-развитие-символика*, ed. A. M. Lidov (Moscow, 2000), 399-400; V. N. Lazarev, *Feofan Grek i ego shkola* (Moscow, 1961), 86-94, pl. 88-111; M. Alpatov, *Feofan Grek* (Moscow, 1984), 139-66. The present lower tiers of the iconostasis date from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries.

46 Weitzmann, *Icon Programs*, 92-3. Major icons for the dedicatory saints of churches may have appeared elsewhere on the templon. Spieser, *‘Développement du templon’*, 141; Weitzmann, *Icon Programs*, 94-5.

's Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei*, 121-2; Woodfin, *'A Majestas Domini in Middle-Byzantine Constantinople'*, 45-53.

so K. Onasch, *Einführung in die Konfessionskunde der orthodoxen Kirchen* (Berlin, 1962), 113-14; C. Walter, *'The Origins of the Iconostasis'*, *Eastern Churches Review* 3 (1971), 266-7; C. Walter, *'A New Look'*, 221-4.

51 Ta VE Tsv hla~opav SELKVUEL TWV aluO7)TWV 7TpOS Ta V07)7a, Kai Ws aTEpEWµa a9TO 7WV 6,(KWv Ta Kai OTL TOV 86aiaaT7)pL06 Ef47rpOuOEVE T06 X pLaT06 Oi UT6Z\oL T3s a6T06 claw EKKz\77aia, T06T6V 7E K7jp6aa0VTES, Kai s)fuis dLi Kai 67TEpcVW TWV Siaa7v6WV 6 KOafi')7733 a6VEy'WV, TOV uvvhEafcOV 57))1WV T3s aya7T77s, Kai T5V EV XpLa7(L EVWOLV, TWV EK 7Y/s 7'p3 ayiWV fiETa TWV CLVW. OBEY Kai VTTEpCVW

T06 KOafi'7706 fiE003 fl u' EUTI 8ia TWV LEpWV ELKOVWV O XW71)p, EKaTEpwOev SE, s) M7T71p 7E Kai 6 Ba7TTLUT7)s, ayyE6OL 7E Kai a7T6a706Oi, Kai Oi TWV ayLWV, TO EV O6pavoic TOV XpwwT3v o6TW3 Elva4 f€ETH TWV ayi(UV a6706, Kai 1,tE8' ElvaL V6V, Kai EpXEuOa4 fLE66ELV TWV 70100TWV EK(SLhaaKOVTVWV. SymeOn Of Thessalonike, De sacro templo, PG 155, col. 345 C-D (my translation). This passage is discussed in detail in N. Conostas, 'Symeon of Thessalonike and the Theology of the Icon Screen, in Thresholds of the Sacred, ed. S. Gerstel (Washington, DC, 2006), 170-1.

52 Mayasova, Medieval Pictorial Embroidery, 22.

53 W. Woodfin in H. Evans (ed.), Byzantium: Faith and Power, 308-9, cat. no. 184; Volbach in Byzantine Art, An European Art, M. Chatzidakis (ed.) (Athens, 1964), 482, no. 592; M. Theocharis in Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery, A. Kominis (ed.) (Athens, 1988), 192-3, figs. 8-9.

54 Compare the epitachelion of Dositheos the Hieromonk in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, and the epitachelion from Dionysiou Monastery on Mt. Athos. Millet, Broderies, 29-30, pl. LIV, LV, LXII-LXV.

16 Millet, Broderies, 29-30, pl. LIV, LV.

17 Mayasova follows a number of previous scholars in misreading these inscriptions as < <n-c,> > i.e. the name Photios. Medieval Pictorial Embroidery, 36.

ss See the appendix for a discussion of its date.

58 Musicescu, Broderie roumaine, 33, pl. 1; Cultura bizantina in Romania (Bucharest, 1971), 123, no. 77, pl. 77 (showing a detail of the inscription); Millet, Broderies, 2-4.

59 Millet, Broderies, 4-5.

61 A stole with the Great Deesis, exhibited in the National Historical Museum of Sofia as a sixteenth-century orarion is, in reality, an epitachelion of the fifteenth century.

62 Examples are collected in Walter, 'Two Notes on the Deesis, 314-16.

60 Compare the list of saints on the Tismana epitachelion (the inscriptions of which are quite well-preserved in Millet's photo), Millet, *Broderies*, 4, with that given for the Tpitachelion of Photios' in Mayasova, *Pictorial Embroidery*, 36.

63 This is in contrast to such other kinds of liturgical textiles as aeres and epitaphioi, which frequently bear donor inscriptions. Cf. Millet, *Broderies*, 76-108, *passim*. Cf also V. Nunn, 'The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period', *BMGS* 10 (1986), 73-102. The intercessory texts she collects were embroidered on textiles given as adornment to icons. In these cases, the subject of the panel icon is the focus of intercession. On dedicatory inscriptions more generally, see R. Nelson, 'Image and Inscription: Please for Salvation in Spaces of Devotion, in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. E. James (Cambridge, 2007), 100-19.

64 ~ dvaoTaaïs Kai ~ ~w~. The textual and visual sources for the scene, which Millet labels 'l'Appel des Elus, are studied exhaustively in G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican: Les élus, images et croyances* (Paris, 1945), 2-12 and 13-36. See also Piltz, *Trois sakkoi byzantins*, 58; W. Woodfin in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, cat. no. 177, 300-1.

65 QE7I7[E] of EvA0y7tμEVot 706 T1(aT)pos Ttijv U(μiv /3aaL,AEiav). Matthew 25: 34.

66 Matthew 17: 1-8, Mark 9: 2-8, Luke 9: 28-36.

67 Gregory Palamas, *The One Hundred Fifty Chapters*, 145-7, ed. Robert E. Sinkewicz (Toronto, 1988), 251-3.

68 For further discussion of the Transfiguration as locus of revelation, see Constas, 'Symeon of Thessalonike and the Theology of the Icon Screen', 176-80.

'69 John of Damascus, *Homilia in transfigurationem Domini*, PG 96, col. 564C.

71 Gerstel, *Beholding*, 49-52.

72 Bucharest, National Museum of Art of Romania, No. 15667/B-122.

70 L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo: Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle* (Brussels, 1975), 67-74, pl.

21-3; S. E. J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle and London, 1999), 21-3, 34-5.

73 Genesis 49:9 (LXX); translation from C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint LXX: Greek and English* (London, 1851). See also the parallel passage at Numbers 24: 9.

74 e.g. Eusebius of Caesarea, *De demonstratio evangelica*, book 8, I, 63-9, ed. 1. Heikel (Leipzig, 1913), 364.

75 Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pl. 30.1, 50.1; A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1936), pl. 39a; Dufrenne, *Programmes iconographiques*, fig. 61; B. Todić, *Manastir Resava* (Belgrade, 1995), pl. 85.

76 W. Woodfin in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 305-6, cat. no. 181; Theodoros in Korninīs (ed.), *Patmos*, 198.

77 Apostolic Constitutions VIII.12.3-4, cited in M. M. Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1986), 151.

78 H. Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, trans. M. Bartusis and R. Meyer (New Rochelle, 1990), 126, fig. 77; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 205-7, pl. 66; S. Curcic, 'Religious Settings of the Late Byzantine Sphere', in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 73, 74, fig. 3.20. See also, with caution, M. Garidis, 'Approche "realiste" Bans la representation du Melismos', in XVI Internationaler Byzantinisten Kongress: Akten, vol. II. 5 (Vienna, 1981), 495-502.

79 Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, 135-6.

80 A. Papas, < <Tkpl T7j\$ &aKOUp.~UEWS TWV iEpaTIKWV Iapos 57 (1975), 92-110.

84 The participation of the priests in the Great Entrance appears to have been a relatively late development; deacons were the sole ministers in the procession at Hagia Sophia as late as the twelfth century. R. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 200 (Rome, 1975), 203-6.

85 Liturgical mss. of the XIII-XV centuries indicate a processional route for the 'First Entrance' that passes through the midst of the

nave, a longer route than the modern Little Entrance, which never leaves the solea, or raised platform, in front of the templon. J. Mateos, *La celebration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 191 (Rome, 1971), 79; Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, 139-40.

86 Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, 124-5.

82 R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 75-83.

\$' On inscriptions on icons, see K. Boston, 'The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies Presented to Robin Cormack*, eds. A. Eastmond and E. James (Aldershot, 2003), 35-57; Maguire, *The Icons of their Bodies: Saints and their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1996), 142-5; cf the Acts of Nicaea II, Mansi, XIII, col. 244B; trans. in D. Sahas, *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm* (Toronto, 1986), 77.

ss C. Striker, 'Applied Proportions in Later Byzantine Architecture', in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. B. Borkopp et al. (Amsterdam, 1995), 35-7; N. Mutsopoulos, 'Harmonische Bauschnitte in den Kirchen vom Typ kreuzförmigen Innenbaus im griechischen Kernland', *BZ* 55 (1962), 274-91.

90 Mateos, *Celebration de la Parole*, 89-90; Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy', 102; Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, II, 302-3 (Diataxis of Gemistos). The transition to this practice may have occurred earlier in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, but the sources are silent.

88 Diataxis of Philotheos, ed. Trempelas, *Τρῒς Αἰτίοῦς Πύπιατ*, lb-16b; Athens, National Library Cod. 662 (anonymous 12th-13th century diataxis), ed. Trempelas, op. cit., la-16a; British Museum Cod. add. 34060 (12th century diataxis from Constantinople), ed. R. Taft, 'The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church According to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex British Museum Add. 34060', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 45 (1979), 284-306.

89 Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy', 102.

87 Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 213-14.

91 Maguire, *Icons of their Bodies*, 123-32; idem, 'Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period', *DOP* 44 (1990), 215-25; and idem, 'Magic and the Christian Image, in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC, 1995), 51-71.

92 Maguire, *Icons of their Bodies*, 144-5; N. Oikonomides, 'The Holy Icon as Asset, *DOP* 45 (1991), 35-44.

94 e.g. Asterios of Amaseia, *Homilia I*, PG 40, cols. 165-8; partial translation in C. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 312-1453 (Toronto, 1986), 50-1; Theodoret, *De providentia oratio IV*, PG 83, col. 617.

96 Even the unworthy wearing of vestments could be dangerous; see the *Life of Meletios the Younger*, ed. V. G. Vasil'evskii, 'Niolaia episkopa Mefonskogo i Feodora Prodroma pisatelej XII stoletia zhitia Meletiia Novogo', *Pravoslavonii Palestinskii Sbornik* 6.2 [17] (1886), 13-14.

91 Woodfin in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 307-8, cat. no. 183.

97 The notion of 'conspicuous virtuosity, coined by James Trilling to describe the court arts of Byzantium, is equally applicable to these works. Cf. J. Trilling, 'Daedalus and the Nightingale: Art and Technology in the Myth of the Byzantine Court', in *Byzantine Court Culture*, 225.

95 Hagiographic tales especially emphasize the dangers of a priest celebrating the Eucharist after having fallen into sin through demonic deceit. See J. Wortly, trans., *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia*, *Cistercian Studies Series* 159 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1996), 127-33, 197-9. On involuntary defilement as a bar to liturgical celebration, see P. Viscuso, 'Purity and Sexual Defilement in Late Byzantine Theology', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 57 (1991), 400-4.

98 E. Maguire, *Weavings from Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic Egypt*, 10-13.

99 Maguire, *Icons of their Bodies*, 78-80; idem., 'Disembodiment and Corporality in Byzantine Images of the Saints, in *Iconography at the Crossroads*, ed. B. Cassidy (Princeton, 1993), 75-83; E. Kitzinger,

'On Some Icons of the Seventh Century', in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al. (Princeton, 1955), 132-50; K. Weitzmann, 'The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression, in *Byzantine Art, An European Art* (Athens, 1966), 149-77. For a parallel discussion of 'disembodiment' in literary depictions of female saints, see S. Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women* (Uppsala, 2005), 85-8; for the stylized mannerism of court eunuchs, see Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant*, 142-7.

100 A. Goncharova, et al., *State Armoury in the Moscow Kremlin* (Moscow, 1969), pl. 23-5.

102 Taft, *Great Entrance*, 210-12. Anciently, a priest celebrating the liturgy would also have remained in the sanctuary, but after the twelfth century priests usually joined in the procession. *Ibid.*, 203-6.

103 On the curtain in the sanctuary entrance, see Taft, *Great Entrance*, 411-16.

106 Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Van Dieten, 18, 11. 80-4; trans. Magoulias, *O City*, 12; Van Dieten, *Historia*, 119, 11. 48-52; trans. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium*, 67.

104 On the development of the stationary liturgy of Constantinople to the tenth century, see J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228 (Rome, 1987), 167-226.

105 1. Phountoules, u'IbwoppvOμiES AELToVpyKti)s TTA.~Eas Tc Kara Ti)v apX~v Tov IE aiWvoc,» in Xpia-iavuK~ 0EaaaAoviK77 naAaLoAoyEtoc E7roX~ (Thessalonike, 1989), 160-2. My thanks to Alexander Lingas for guiding me towards the Modern Greek bibliography on Symeon's liturgical writings.

10' Pace E. Piltz, who proposes that the sakkoi copy the iconographic programme of one of the churches of the Great Palace in Constantinople (*Trois sakkoi byzantines*, 58-9).

108 S. Evstratiades, aH Ev OfAabe;~eia Move rr"jc vrrepayiac OE070KOV T"lIs KoTEu c,» *Hellenika* 3 (1930), 317-39; *MM* II, 568.

109 T. N. Manushina, 'Khudozhestvennoe shit'e', in V. I. Baldin and T. N. Manushina (eds.), *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra: Arkhitekturny*

ansembl' i khudozhestvennye kollektsii drevnerusskogo iskusstva XIV-XVII vv. (Moscow, 1996), 347, pl. 290.

112 A. Grabar, 'Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie', ZRVI 7 (1961), 13-17; Karakatsanis (ed.), *Treasures of Mt. Athos*, 63-4; 94-5.

107 De Off., 196.

110 Papas, *Geschichte der Messgewänder*, 88-9; Tocilescu, *Catalogul*, 109, no. 52.

Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, 96-103, pl. B, 36-7.

114 Millet, *Broderies*, 62, pl. CXXIII.

115 Two complete pairs with similar renderings of the subject, also inscribed in Greek, survive in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade. Stojanovic, *Umetnicki vez*, 45, pl. 4, 5.

116 The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, for the images of the Communion of the Apostles on the Vatican Sakkos, since the same word (Χεῖρ) applies to both hand and arm in Byzantine Greek.

13 See Appendix A.

117 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, II, 315-16; Taft, 'Pontifical Liturgy', 302-5.

2 e.g., Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 13-19.

4 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie* II, 302.

6 To Trep6TpaXI))tLOV EUTL To ~aKEG1ALOV, [LEO' oU ETretI)EpETO TOO apXLepEwc WC[LC'vos, Kai avpomevoc ETri To Trpoaf0ev cm' TO) TpaX5kw o Xp6OTOS, CV TLL TraBEL avTo4 aTrepXomevos. To 8E Tov ETrLTpaxs;iov 8e~LOV μ6pOc, TTE05vev o Kakaμos ov EbwKav EμTrai~ovTes 77j 8e5eL6 Tov XptaTOV. To 8E Tov E~ evwvμov fTCpovs, 5 Tov aTavpov /3aaTay'i Eiri To)v aμwv a6TO6. Germanos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, PG 98, col. 393C-D. The information about the meaning of the two parts of the epitachelion is an apparent interpolation not found in the edition of P. Meyendorff, *St. Germanus of Constantinople on the Divine Liturgy* (Crestwood, NY, 1984), 66.

I For a summary of the history of these formulae, see R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du viieau xvesiecle* (Paris, 1966), 252-3. The relevant prayers in the textus receptus of the rite are printed in Brightman, *Liturgies*, 82-4.

I Cf Matthew 18: 12-13; Luke 15: 4-7; John 10: 11-16. The texts range from a passage doubtfully attributed to the fifth-century Isidore of Pelousion (PG 78, col. 272D) to the eighth-century *Historia ecclesiastica* of Germanos (PG 98, col. 396A) to the early fifteenth-century writings of Symeon of Thessalonike (*De divino templo*, PG 155, col. 716B-C).

5 Papas, *Geschichte der Messgewander*, 236-8; M. Theocharis in Kominis (ed.), *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery*, 186-7, 211, pl. 15.

9 Kai rrap.1wKav 7tu ~yemovi. Millet, *Broderies*, 29-30.

7 Eis U 7o errirpaX~Aiov .1Eyec TLkEf avTCs a7Etbavov Ef aKav0owv, rrepiEB)Kav E7ri 7ov 7paX77AOv all7oc, ~vyov avrov iv7]yayov Kai 9rapE6wKav Ilov7ui Ili.1a7w 7tu ti]yemovi. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie II*, 171.

Ta [ao~a~oOULV] To ~payyc'Afov TO EAKVaav Tov ~w4v Trpoc Tov BavaTov. Balsamon, *Meditata sive responsa*, RP IV, 548.

L0 `0 bE ET i Toy TpaX'Ijktov)twpoc Tti]v erripXpeoµev~v avra) Xapw Ins iepwavv~g a"lpµaivef, 7TLc dva7ra6cTa, Ev 7Gp) TpapX' Aw 7G) Tov To6 XptaTOV IvyOV Kai 1,a you arti]Oovc µEXpi r(uv Kapliav tiftcpovaa Kai Tray To ao"Jµa ayfa.lovaa. Nicholas Kabasilas, *Treatise on the Sacred Ornaments*, in R. Bornert, ed., *Explication de la divine liturgie*, 364.

12 AtAa Kai 70 ll9ravXEv1ov Elva(Xp1aT(I TOv LEpEO EKEIVW TEKETCPX17 TQc 7E3ETac o~Ei3ovTa EvEpyE6v, Kai T(s) Tov XpptaTo6 ~vyw EV Tar cfvOOE1 KaOvTTOKEtoBal, Kai 7a aOT06 9rpdTTELv µET' avYov, Kai ft31d Xwpic av7ov ... Symeon of Thessalonike, *Expositio de divino templo*, PG 155, col. 713A.

EvAoyi)TOS o Oc& o EKXEWv [T~v Xapw a6To6 err' roes LEpe c avro4 (Ls µvpov ET'r' TO KaTa/3a6vov em' 9TGlyWVa, TOT T (Lywva Tov Aap(Lv, TO KaTa/3a6vov Em' T~v diav] Tov EvbvµaTos atTov. Trempeles, *TpECs 1a*; Brightman, *Liturgies*, 355. Cf. Psalm 133: 2 (LXX).

13 On the typological connection between the two events, cf. John Chrysostom, *Homilia I in Epistolam ad Romanos*, PG 60, col. 395. On the Old Testament Priesthood in later Byzantine art, see D. Vojvodic, 'O likovima starozavetnih prvosvestenika u vizantijskom zidnom slikarstvu s kraja XIII veka, *ZRVI* 37 (1998), 121-53. Images of ordinations are treated by Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 130-6.

14 Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacris ordinationibus*, PG 155, col. 381C-D; idem, *Expositi de divino templo*, PG 155, col. 712B.

16 Nicholas Cabasilas, *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio*, I, 6, ed. R. Bornert et al., *Nicolas Cabailas, Explication de la divine liturgie*, SC 4 bis (Paris, 1967), 60; trans. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (London, 1960), 27.

On the history and development of these commentaries, see especially R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie* (Paris, 1966); and H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression* (New York, 1986).

1' Cf the late medieval Western understanding expressed in the collect for the feast of Corpus Christi: 'Deus, qui nobis sub Sacramento mirabili, passionis tuae memoriam reliquisti...' *Missalis Romani editio princeps mediolani anno 1474 prelis mandata*, eds. A. Ward, S. M. and C. Johnson, O.S.B., *Biblioteca Ephemerides Liturgicae subsidia instrumenta liturgica quarreriensia, Supplementa 3* (Rome, 1996), 215.

22 AAA' F071 Kai Tpir) /3E/3aiwaLs Twv TrpoTEBELμcvwv, i To; μETa r c Beias iEповpyias TaCc Tov Oeov EKKa97aiats Kakwc Kai OEO~L.1ws Trapa8e8oraL. Tis U am777; H Twv tEpwV eiKOVWV bta XpwμαTwv avaar~kwats ev ravrats yap Ta Tti)s EvavBpwrr~aewc Tov XpLOToi Kai OEov ~F(WV Q = avra μvoT~pla Tots EllaE1EOLV opwvTaL KaOLaTopovμEva aar' avTti)s Tits Tov apXayyeAov Ta/3pt~ATpoc T~v HapBevov d~ieEwc Kai T)s Etc; ovpavovs avaAtiOEwc Tov KvPLov Kai T)7c tSEvTepac avrov TrapovaiaC. Theodore of Andida, *Commentatio liturgica*, PG 140, cols. 420-1.

20 The commentary was written by Nicholas, bishop of Andida in Pamphylia between 1054 and 1067 and revised by his successor in the see, Theodore of Andida. Bornert, *Commentaires*, 184-95; Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*, 92-3; J. Darrrouzes, 'Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes, *REB* 32 (1974), 200-3.

'\$ R. Taft, 'The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm, DOP 34-5 (1980-1981). On the textual history of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, see below, note 24. The attribution to Germanos has been repeatedly contested, although it is accepted by Bornert, *Commentaires*, 128. The authenticity of the authorship is, however, a moot point for medieval Byzantium, which wholeheartedly accepted the authority of the text.

19 The passion and resurrection symbolism of the central ceremonies of the offertory and anaphora is present already in the Catechetical Homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia, although the other portions of the rite do not receive similar treatment. Theodore of Mopsuestia, Homily 15, 25-9, trans. E. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough, 1971), 227-30; Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins*, 79-80; Taft, 'The Liturgy of the Great Church, 64-5.

21 PG 140, cols. 432B, 436C-D.

23 Bornert, *Commentaires*, 266. My thanks also to Fr. Robert Taft for sharing with me his thoughts on the state of scholarship on the Byzantine commentaries.

32 Bornert, *Commentaires*, 168-9.

28 On the prothesis, see M. Altripp, *Die Prothesis and ihre Bildausstattung in Byzanz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Denkmäler Griechenlands* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998). Also V. Laurent, 'Le rituel de la proskomidie et le metropolite de Crete Elie, *REB* 16 (1958), 116-42.

29 Theodore of Andida, *Commentatio liturgica*, PG 140, col. 429A-D.

24 No proper critical edition of this text exists. The version of the text edited by Paul Meyendorff is founded on the Borgia edition, which is based on only two Greek manuscripts, supplemented by the ninth-century Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (c. 870). Meyendorff reconstructs a plausible original version by bracketing those portions that are found only in Anastasius. An earlier attempt at a reconstructed text was made by Brightman early in the twentieth century. The edition of Borgia prints the Greek *textus receptus* of the commentary side-by-side with the Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. St Germanus of Constantiople, *On the Divine Liturgy*,

ed. and trans. P. Meyendorff (Crestwood, NY, 1984); F. E. Brightman, 'The Historia Mystagogica and Other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy, *Journal of Theological Studies* 9 (1908), 248-67, 387-97; N. Borgia, *Il commentario liturgico di S. Germano Patriarca Constantinopolitano e la versione latina di Anastasio Bibliotecario, Studi liturgici* 1 (Grottaferrata, 1912). A late version of the text, complete with its medieval accretions, is printed in PG 98: 384-453. For a detailed treatment of the textual problem of the commentary, see Bornert, *Commentaires*, 125-42.

25 R. Bornert, 'L'anaphore dans la spiritualite liturgique de Byzance: le temoinage des commentaires mystagogiques du VIIe au XVe siecle', in *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident* (= *Lex Orandi* 47) (Paris, 1970), 249; cited in P. Meyendorff (ed.), *St Germanus of Constantinople, On the Divine Liturgy*, 52.

26 Taft, 'Liturgy of the Great Church', 46.

27 On this phenomenon, see Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins*, 161-70; Taft, 'Liturgy of the Great Church', 56.

30 Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*, 99, citing the 12th-century Vat. gr. 1973, fol. 2. The asterisk as a form, however, long predates the textual sources for it; a sixth-century example from the Sion Treasure is found at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC. See S. Boyd and M. M. Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1992), 5, 20.

34 Taft, 'Liturgy of the Great Church', 61-2.

36 Bornert, *Commentaires*, 248-51; Conostas, 'Symeon of Thessalonike and the Theology of the Icon Screen', 166, 176-9.

31 Diataxis of Philotheos, ed. Trempelas, *TpECc AELToBpy'al*, 4, col. 2 (MS Panteleimen 770); Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, II, 264 (Mt. Athos, Esphigmenou MS 34); *ibid*, 172 (Patmos 719); Cf. Matthew 2: 9.

33 Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins*, 42-5, 218-21; Taft, 'Liturgy of the Great Church', 60-1.

31 Taft, 'Liturgy of the Great Church', 58-9.

37 J.-M. Speiser, 'Le developpement du templon et les images des Douze Fetes, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique beige de Rome* 69 (1999),

131-64; idem, 'Liturgie et programmes iconographiques, Travaux et memoires 11 (1991), 575-90; Walter, 'A New Look, 203-28.

38 Manuel Philes, Manuelis Philae Carmina, ed. E. Miller, I (Paris, 1855), 10, 1. 31; cited in Kitzinger, 'Reflections on the Feast Cycle', 67.

39 Ta SE Ev T'q TEAET'q Tav ba'ipwv yLvoµeva eis T~v Tov EWTI)poc oiKOvoµav avacepETat Tra.vTa, Eva ~ ± iv ~ avr~s Bewpia rrpō Twv ov'aa Tas /vXag ayraKai ovywc ETpLTi 8cfo6 yivwf E8a 7rpoc Ttiw TG)v iepoav ba'ipwv. Kabasilas, Explication de la divine liturgie, 64 [my translation].

41 Walter, 'A New Look, 222-3.

42 A. Grabar, 'Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures, DOP 8 (1954), 161-99.

40 H. Maguire, Art and Eloquence in Byzantium (Princeton, 1981), 55-9.

43 dua rot)ro EXp'v rtiw rat)ra µ6v EVBEbvab 8vvaµEV77v BEwpiaiv Ev rti ovvra6E1 i c LEpovpyiac a7?µaivEaBa, i'va µ~ rtu v(Z Aoyi~(LµEBA aAAQ Kai oc6B0µoCc rporrov b~ rr,va r WO v rot) rr \ovaiov 7TEViav, Emt87y av rot) ire vra 7o7TOV KarEXovroc, ra, ovEi877 rot) EtAoy7µEvov, ra, rot) arraBovc, ppoaov µial)Bcis, OaOV'l)ya9r9)aEV" ALKOs wV, oaov ErarrEivwaEv Eavr(V' Kair6 ravr9)v ~roiµaacv Ev(Lmov titt(av rpaarE~av Kabasilas, Explication, 66 [my translation].

44 On the other hand, the emphasis on the liturgy as historical allegory undoubtedly contributed to the de-emphasis on the congregation's physical reception of the Sacrament. The potential pitfalls of this variety of Byzantine mystagogy are treated very fully by Schulz, The Byzantine Liturgy, especially 69-70, 103-4, 191-2.

46 Theodore of Mopsuestia made strikingly similar claims for the bishop's role a millennium earlier in his Catechetical Homilies. Hom. 15, ch. 21, trans. Yarnold, The Awe-Inspiring Rites, 224.

47 Compare Chrysostom's estimation of the priest's role as 'icon of Christ' to that reserved to the bishop in Symeon of Thessalonike. John Chrysostom, In Matt. homilia 50, 3, PG 58, col. 507; Schulz, Byzantine Liturgy, 15. On the Old Testament priest as the Angel of God, see M.

Barker, *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy* (London, 2003), 122-9.

48 For a contemporary reflection on this aspect of priestly ministry, see J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, New York, 1993), 229-33; for a treatment of similar ideas from a Roman Catholic perspective, see B.-D.

Marliangeas, *Cles pour une theologie du ministere: In persona Christi, In persona Ecclesiae* (Paris, 1978).

as `O SE ye iepEVS 7rpo7tyovµ6ws µEv 7rapa T'.1 BELa Tpak iyyEAOs Kvptov 7ravroKparopos Kai Eis Twv BEiWV EeayyE.ATtKOS, Kai rus Twv BEAPµa.Twv roti OEov 7r))pwT71c. a2\Q. Kai TOV'I17U0VV EiKOV~Et T)V yap avrov T'~q XELPOTOV6a KEKT9)TaL 8vvatuv... Kai 7rp0 yE Tovrov µflkkov o iEPa.PX)s, Sc Kai ppr"~s KaBEbpas KaOl GBaL ypa~ETQL Kai T~V EXEL, Tov OEOb bvvaµEvos XaptTt. o yap tEPaPX"IS Ti~s Twv a7roJTOAav TvyXavEL btabox)c. oBEV Kai Eis Tov XptJTOV EiKOV~WV, Ev YW µEkkEty iEpovpyECv, ra iEpa 7TEpt/3a.XkETat a ta, o? at'av EXovTa 7ra.VTa Kai OEwpiav 7TEpi thy Kai KaTa Ovvatuv AEyoµEv. Symeon of Thessalonike, *Expositio de divino templo*, PG 155, col. 709A.

50 Kai Ear Traaa µvoTaywyta KaOa9rcp TLS ELKWV µa aa'µaToc Tljs Too XwTI)poc TroALTetac, ire via a3Ti1S Ta µEp) asr apXi~s QXpL TE\ovc Kara T~v lrpoc iia1.177.1a Tafa' Kai appovtav ayovaa. Kabasilas, *Explication*, 62 (= PG 150, col. 272B).

53 Nicolas Cabasilas, *vie en Christ*, ed. M-H. Congourdeau, SC 355 (Paris, 1989), 286-8.

56 Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*, 81-3.

49 Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*, 57.

5' Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*, 188, 191.

sa For the explanation of this term, a favourite theme of Byzantine theology in general and Palamism in particular, see B. Sartorius, *La doctrine de la deification de l'homme d'apres les Peres grecs* (Geneva, 1965).

14 Woodfin in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 300-1, cat. no. 177.

ss Grabar, *ʼRouleau liturgique*, 177, 185, fig. 22; Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*, 88.

57 Nicholas Kabasilas, *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio*, VI.1-2, ed. Bornert, 80.

60 Cf. Kabasilas, *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio*, XXXII, ed. Bornert, 202-6.

58 Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 318, 378; translated in Taft, *Great Entrance*, 120.

59 Kabasilas, *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio*, VI, 2, ed. Bornert, 80.

61 Nicholas Kabasilas, *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio*, XXXVIII, ed. Bornert, 231; trans. Hussey and McNulty, 91.

66 Taft, *Great Entrance*, 217, 245-7.

62 Despite this emphasis on Passion symbolism in the mystagogy of the climax of the Eucharistic rite, no surviving Byzantine liturgical vestments are decorated exclusively with Passion scenes, in marked contrast to embroidered vestments produced in medieval Western Europe.

63 Taft, *Great Entrance*, 3-11, 213-15; Spatharakis, *ʼRepresentations of the Great Entrance in Crete*, 293, n. 2; Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 217-21.

64 Robert Taft, *ʼIn the Bridegroom's Absence: The Paschal Triduum in the Byzantine Church*, in *La celebrazione del Triduo pasquale: anamnesis e mimesis. Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Liturgia*, Roma, Pontificio Istituto Liturgico, 9-12 maggio 1988 (Rome, 1990), 71-97, reprinted in Robert Taft, *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond* (Aldershot, 1995), 90.

65 Taft, *ʼLiturgy of the Great Church*, 55.

67 Taft, *Great Entrance*, 8, 220-1, 244-9. As Taft notes, no source prior to the fourteenth century gives a textual formula to accompany this action. *Ibid*, 245.

68 The notable exception is the *Protheoria*, which, in an effort to stretch the earthly life of Christ over the whole liturgy, applies the

symbolism of the death and resurrection of Christ to the elevation after the anaphora. PG 140, 464D.

69 Germanus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, trans. Meyendorff, 89-91.

72 Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacra liturgia*, PG 155, col. 288A.

73 Hans Belting has pointed out depictions of the epitaphios in other media in art of the late 12th century, indicating that embroidered examples likely existed by this time. *Image and Its Public*, 124. On the St Clement Epitaphios, dating to the reign of Andronikos 11 (1282-1328), see most recently I. Petrinski in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, no. 188, 314-15.

74 See the views expressed in Ioannis Spatharakis, 'Representations of the Great Entrance in Crete, in *Studies in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination and Iconography* (London, 1996), 294-9; Anna Gonosova in A. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford, 1991), s.v. 'Aer' and 'Epitaphios'; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition* 25-6.

75 As I have argued in 'Liturgical Textiles, in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 296-7. See also the observations of Fr. Taft in *The Great Entrance*, 216-19.

76 Dimitrievskii, *Opisanie II*, 310-11; cited in Taft, *Great Entrance*, 244.

77 Spatharakis, 'Representations of the Great Entrance, 294-99; J. D. Stefanescu, 'L'Illustration des Liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient'. *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1 (1932-1933), 75-7, pl. XXVIII-XXX.

78 A. Antonaras in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 312-13, cat. No. 187A; L. Bouras, 'The Epitaphios of Thessaloniki, Byzantine Museum of Athens No 685', in *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au xive siècle*, ed. D. Davidov (Belgrade, 1987), 211-31.

70 The epitaphios from Berat, Albania, now in the National Historical Museum in Tirana, bears this same inscription, αΙ(ιαο)ς Χ(πiano)ς, ο ἐμΤα~fos,» over the head of the embroidered figure of Christ. My thanks to Henry Schilb for this information.

71 Symeon of Thessalonike describes the sacred veil (, Ufi Aov) with the image of the dead Christ, carried on the heads of those in the procession of the Great Entrance. Symeon of Thessalonike, *Expositio de divino templo* 76, PG 155, col. 728B.

79 W. Woodfin, in H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, No. 190, 316-17.

81 For the historical circumstances surrounding the creation of the Major Sakkos and the portraits of the Byzantine and Russian rulers, see D. Obolenskii, 'Some Notes Concerning a Byzantine Portrait of John VIII', *Eastern Churches Review* 4 (1972), 141-6; W. Woodfin, 'The Dissemination of Byzantine Embroidered Vestments in the Slavic World to A.D. 1500', in *Medieval Christian Europe: East and West*, eds. V. Guzelev and A. Miltenova (Sofia, 2002), 688-93.

80 Belting, *Image and its Public*, 127; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 227-34.

82 Taft, *Great Entrance*, 7-10, n. 15; N. V. Gogol', *Razmyshleniia a bozhestvennoi liturgii*, in N. V. Gogol', *Dukhovnaia proza*, eds. I. A. Vinogradov and V. A. Voropaev (Moscow, 2001), 292-4.

83 The impact of sermons and hymnody on fresco decoration in the Middle Byzantine period has been amply demonstrated by Maguire, *Art and Eloquence*.

De Off., 165-6, 187.

2 On the Middle Byzantine courtier, see A. Kazhdan and M. McCormick, 'The Social World of the Byzantine Court, in *Byzantine Court Culture*, 167-97; on the transition to kinship-based court appointments, see N. Oikonomides, 'L'evolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XF siecle (1025-1118)', *Travaux et memoires* 6 (1976), 125-8.

3 The use of linguistic metaphors for costume has been cogently critiqued by G. McCracken, 'Clothing as Language: An Object Lesson in the Study of the Expressive Properties of Material Culture, chapter in *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1988), 57-70. McCracken argues that the language metaphor is inaccurate in several respects, including the possibility of recombination to form different messages. While I agree with his conclusion that costume is a 'conservative' code that does not

encourage manipulation of its message, I hope here to demonstrate that Byzantine churchmen did precisely that with their use of images on liturgical vestments.

7 ed. J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos: Traite des offices* (Paris, 1966), hereafter *De Off*.

4 The best recent study on imperial costume in the period in question is M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)* (Leiden, 2003); and eadem, 'Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume, *JOB* 57 (2007), 95-134. See also M. Hendy, 'Imperial Ceremonial Costume and Regalia', chapter in *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, IV, Alexios I to Michael VIII: 1081-1261 (- DOC IV)* (Washington, DC, 1999) 143-76. For imperial and court dress of the Middle Byzantine period, see J. Ball, *Byzantine Dress: Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting* (New York, 2005), 11-56. Both the Middle and Late Byzantine periods fall within the scope of the dissertation by T. Dawson, 'The Forms and Evolution of the Dress and Regalia of the Byzantine Court: c. 900-c. 1400' (Ph.D. diss., University of New England [Australia], 2003). See also the studies by E. Piltz, 'Middle Byzantine Court Costume, in *Byzantine Court Culture*, 39-51, and *Le costume officiel des dignitaires byzantins à l'époque Paléologue*, *Figura* n.s. 26 (Uppsala, 1994), which collates the information on costume provided by Pseudo-Kodinos.

6 N. Oikonomides (ed.), *Les listes de préséance byzantines du IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972).

There are two scholarly editions of the work. The earlier, J. J. Reiske (ed.), *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, 2 vols. CSHB (Bonn, 1829-1830), covers the complete text. The more recent, A. Vogt, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1935-1940), includes only Book 1. Both editions are founded on a single tenth-century manuscript in the University Library, Leipzig. For an introduction to the work, see A. Cameron, 'The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies', in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, eds. D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge, 1987), 106-36; J. M. Featherstone, 'De Cerimoniis and the Great Palace, in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London, 2010), 162-74.

9 Easter: Constantine Porphyrogenitos, De Cer. 1.1, ed. Vogt, I, 17-20; Pentecost: *ibid.*, 1.9, ed. Vogt, I, 57; reception of Arab ambassadors: De Cer. II.15, ed. Reiske, 590-1. Pseudo-Kodinos, strangely enough, makes no mention of the imperial *loros*, but its continuous appearance in Palaiologan works of art hardly allows for the supposition that it had fallen out of use. See pp. 143-4, below.

\$ In addition to the works cited in note 4 above, see for the lexicographical approach to the identification of textile terms: P. A. Phourikes, < <Hepi 706 ETVμov Twv .1Eeeav aKapaμayywOV, Ka/3/3a8tov, uKapavLKOV,» apXcCov me μeais Kai vac E.1.177vWi~s 6 (1923), 444-73; N. P. Kondakov, 'Les costumes orientaux a la tour byzantine, Byzantion 1 (1924), 7-49; Ph. Koukoules, Bv~av-wwv /3Los Kai o1~7~aμos (Athens, 1948), vol. 2, part 2, 5-59. Recent works on Byzantine dress that are founded primarily on visual evidence include the works by Parani and Ball cited above, as well as J. Kubiski, 'Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (Cite des Dames Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master), Gesta 40 (2001), 161-80.

11 I. Spatharakis, Portrait, 107-18; these folios are reproduced in colour in Byzance, 360-1. On the history and codicology of the manuscript, see most recently C. L. Dumitrescu, 'Quelques remarques en marge du Coislin. 79.: Les trois eunuques', Byzantion 57 (1987), 33-8.

12 Constantine Pophyrogenitos, De Cer., II.47, ed. Vogt, II, 3; Parani, Reconstructing, 13; Hendy, 'Imperial Ceremonial Costume, 157, 158; Constantine Pophyrogenitos, De Cer., 1.46 (37), ed. Vogt, I, 176-9.

1 De Cer. I, 1, ed. Vogt, I, 18; N. Oikonomides, Les listes de presseance byzantines du IXe et Xesiacle (Paris, 1972), 200-1.

13 De Cer. 1.92, ed. Reiske, I, 423. The name *divetesion* perhaps derives the Latin *dives*, evoking the richness of the garment and its decoration. Hendy, 'Imperial Ceremonial Costume, 157.

14 The ceremonial directions in De Officiis prescribe that the emperor wear the *sakkos* at his coronation and at the major feasts of Christ, that is, on the occasions when one would expect him to wear the *divetesion*. De Off., 200, 201, 224, 256, 264. While it is doubtful that much of a substantial change in the cut of the garment took place

along with the change in nomenclature, Pseudo-Kodinos speaks of the sakkos being black, a colour not attested for the divitesion, so the decoration of imperial tunic must have changed somewhat since the composition of *De Ceremonies. De Off.*, 201. The black sakkos is seen with the Toros and stemma in the illustrations of John VI Kantakouzenos in Paris, B.N. ms. gr. 1242, f. 5v and 123v.

16 As Hendy cogently observes, its alternation with the Toros on currency may have no greater significance than avoidance of confusion with previous issues. Hendy, *Imperial Ceremonial Costume*, 151. Jennifer Ball, on the other hand, theorizes that the chlamys, as a garment of military derivation, was used to assert emperors' military prowess. *Byzantine Dress*, 29-32.

7 On the skaramangion, see N. P. Kondakov, *Les costumes orientaux a la cour byzantine*, *Byzantion* 1 (1924), 11-15. J. Ball is surely correct in her theory that the term skaramangion referred originally to the origin of the material rather than to the form of the garment. *Byzantine Dress*, 43-5.

Parani, *Reconstructing*, 12-15.

18 On the significance of the chlamys worn by the archangel, see Maguire, *The Heavenly Court*, 249; also Chapter 5, below.

19 Parani, *Reconstructing*, 18. Compare the consular diptych of Areobindus (AD 506), J. Durand (ed.), *Byzance*, 49-50, cat. no. 12; W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des fruhen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1976), 33, no. 10. See also R. Delbriick, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmaler* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 43-58.

20 Evans and Wixom (eds.), *Glory of Byzantium*, 203-4. Maria Parani has observed that the artist has incorrectly rendered the wrapping of the Toros around the figure of the emperor. *Reconstructing*, 19, n. 37.

22 Another Greek translation of the Donation of Constantine, taken from Cod. Vat. Gr. 81 u. 1115, is edited by W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* (Darmstadt, 1966), 108-23. See also G. Dagron, *Empereur et pretre: Etude sur le 'caesaropapisme' byzantin* (Paris, 1996), 248-55; this work is now available in an English translation by J. Birrell, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003). For the Greek versions of the

Donation of Constantine, see D. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge, 2007), 364-5, 376-80.

23 E'I'I' EKEbva OE KaL TO 8LQ~TOL TOV aTE(ba.VOV 7'11S KE(ba/l)1c 17(.LWV, (. [Za KaL TOV A(UpOV, Kai To (L[ZO(bOpLOV OTEp /3aGL,LKOV Tpa~\`9)Aov, aµa OE Kai T1V Tropcbvpav KQL XLTa\\1Va KOKKLVOV, KQL T\`a\` EVOvf ± aTa, KaL Ta Q LIFA,QTQ Ta1V /3au \\LKOJV OFA,O LOJS KQL TQ aK'11'7 Tpa, KQL TlaVTa TI at va, KQL TQ OaVTQ, KQL KO aFA,~FA,QTQ TT~S gQaL/luc7c Ka' 7V BO~av T~s E~ovaiac. RP I, 146.

2L Representations of the Toros after the eleventh century generally show a simplified form of the garment. In these images the Toros appears as a sort of long scapular with an attached collar. The head passes through a hole in the centre of the garment, and the trailing length of fabric in the back is brought around the waist to the front and caught up over the left arm. The newer, simplified type of the Toros begins to appear in monumental art from the eleventh century, and by the accession of the Komnenoi, the simplified type had become standard and remained so to the end of the empire. Parani, *Reconstructing*, 19-23; eadem, 'The Romanos Ivory and the New Tokali Kilise: Imperial Costume as a Tool for Dating Byzantine Art, CA 49 (2001), 15-28. Hendy suggests that the change in the form of the Toros was made to reflect its symbolic interpretation as the burial shroud of Christ. Hendy, 'Imperial Ceremonial Costume, 154-5.

24 X7µEiwaat OTt rot) Tprapov7OS'&'KTOV, ' roL /3a(L/(LKov TrpouTa.yua7oc Tot) ayLOv µeya\`ov o 9ra9ras P(Lµi1s 6La rrav7wv TOW OaatAtKwV rrpovoµiww µEyakvvEaBaL avEV p.ovov Tot) a7Eµµa7oc M yap 7O67O Kai ev o7rov87)7ToTE 9rpoE;EVaEULV av70t), Kai Tabs iEpppoTEAEaTtaLs, Taplc /3aatppALKOv)kG)pOV KE(~CL)V KaTaKa)VITTETaL Kai aA)OLVpa V9ro&)f a7a, Kai Ka/3a;LKEVEL µET D770tVOT) aE;OXa;LVOV, Kara Tovs /3aGL.1ELs, Kai Tovs tTr' avTov 8ta a~twµaywv /3aatltKwv. RP I, 148.

25 The Byzantine Greek translator erred in rendering the Latin list of insignia, which reads 'deinde diademam videlicet coronam capitis nostri simulque frygium nec non et superhumeralē, videlicet lorū, qui imperiale circumdare assolet collum...' Donatio Constantini 14, ed. H. Fuhrman, *Das Constitutum Constantini*, NIGH *Fontes iuris germanici antiqui*, n.s. 10 (Hanover, 1968), 87.

27 VLa riffs ~wv7js, 2) vtv, rus 8ta877µa. De Off., 201.

28 M. Parani arrives at the same conclusion in *Reconstructing*, 22-3.

29 Illustrated in colour in Durand (ed.), *Byzance*, 360.

30 Ta yap T~ayyia, a E(hopEL, 3iv ayayiuu aaro T3s i& ac avro4
XWpas, povaaCa, EAXov µapyapITas HEpaiKw aXTiftaTi. John
Malalas, *Chronographia* XVII, 9, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 2000), 340; ed.
and trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott (Melbourne, 1986),
233.

32 Madrid, National Library, ms. Vit. 26-2, fol. 26v, a. E. Boeck
'The Art of Being Byzantine: History, Structure and Visual Narrative in
the Madrid Skylitzes Manuscript' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2003),
82-3.

33 `EaTb Kai ETEpov E180c V7TO09)µaTwv, a KatovvTat T~ayKia,
EXovTa EK 9r3ayiwv Kara Tas Kvti)µas Kai FTri Twv rapawv a.ETovs
8va A6Owv Kai µapydpwv, ar,va Kai ~opEC o /3aaa)EVS Eis TE
TOUS TTEpETrdTOV Kai Tas TrpoKvOEo;. De Off., 171.

3L John Syklitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 1, 10, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin,
1973), 21-2.

34 London, British Library, add. 39627, fol. 3; Maguire, 'The
Heavenly Court, 253-4, pl. 11; S. McKendrick in Evans (ed.),
Byzantium: Faith and Power, cat. no. 27, 56-7.

36 For imperial crowns of the ninth through eleventh centuries, see
DOC III, 127-30.

37 ro µev yap /3aaTktKOV bid8c a KaBarrep 37µu/aipro v evyvpov
TSV Kecbak37v V6a6e6 rravraXoBev µapyapoīs Kai)6806S KOaµOV
TEVOV, rocs µ6v EyKE,µeVO,s, rocs H Kai E677pr3)µEvois'
EKarcpwBev yap rowv Kpora~wv opµa0OH rives arraiwpovvrat Spa
µapyapwv Kai HiPwv Kai 7as 7rapeias Em f eovar, Kai E6r(rovro
E)p77µevov rr Xp~µa rocs /3aaiArPai GTO1)s. of H sv v ee/
JaaroKparopwv Kai rrvv Kaaaapwv aTEoavot arropaS~v Earw o ov rG
V p.apyapwv Kai Aif3wv µerEXovres avev Anna Komnene, Alexiad,
111.4. 1, eds. D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (Berlin, 2001), 95.
Translation after Hendy, 'Imperial Ceremonial Costume, 165.

33 Athens, Byzantine Museum, ms. 80; Maguire, 'The Heavenly

Court, 254. The eagle-ornamented footstool is also seen in the portrait of John VII Kantakouzenos presiding at an ecclesiastical council, Paris gr. 1242, fol. 5v, Spatharakis, Portrait, 132, fig. 86.

40 Paris, ms. gr. 1242, fol. 123v.

41 De Administrando Imperio 13, ed. G. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC 1967), 67.

ss The identification of this crown form as kamelaukion, as suggested by Piltz in Kamelaukion et mitra is based on a derivation from the late-Roman military helmet and, therefore, is irrelevant to our argument here. See also the review by K. Wessel, BZ 72 (1979), 114-18.

39 Piltz points to its appearance in the frontispiece miniatures of the Barberini Psalter, (Kamelaukion et mitra, 62), although this is a problematic instance because of heavy late overpainting. J. Anderson, P. Canart, and C. Walter, The Barberini Psalter, Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus Graecus 372 (Zurich and New York, 1989) with microfilm colour images; J. Anderson, 'The Date and Purpose of the Barberini Psalter', CA 31 (1983), 35-67.

42 7o μEv rrEprOE`iA~a6ar Ao.'apovs Tovs f ayiarpovs Kai 7rarpikiovs Ev 7ti) Eopraaiμw ~μepa 7i~s avaayaaEws XpICTOV rov OEov ~μwv Eis 7vrrov ~yovμEBa rov EVTaciaaμo4 avrov 7o SE KEXpvawaOai avrovs eis ravT2)s kap7rpi72)7a, ti5zio3oAovμevovs Ef ~Aiov Xpiaro4 avrov 77) EyEpaEi. avrovs rE Tovs f ayiarpovs Kai rra7puKiovs EV v7n Xp2)μap7i~Eiv 7wv arroaTOAwv, TOV 7E Xp2)aTOV /3aarkEa Kara 7o Ec~iKTOV avakoyovvra Kai Ta Kara)OyOv)kEyomEva uKE7raLa (KO7TOV EXEb 47E7V7TWUBai av[t/3o \oLc ErrbVLK6O4s, a Kara r]V EK vEKpwv EyEpa4v 706 XpL9706, Kai ELE a~omoiwaUV TOv aravpo4 koyiaB2]aovTay 1 Ov ro Kara o i]pa7o. De Cer.II. 40, ed. Reiske, 637-638.

43 For the ritual principle at work, see A. Baumstark, 'Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit, Jahrbuch fur Liturgiewissenschaft' (1927) 1-23.

44 De Cer. II. 40, ed. Reiske, 638.

45 Kat' TOv μEv OT(XVP8V o 3ai KEVS cbeppav SL' avTOU OELKVVaL T~7v Eis XpLaTOV EavTOV MUTLV, OLa Tov UTE7bfbatoQ T)V TL7±N)V, T17\$ ~(Lv)c,) VtV, (US M877μa, TO

JTpαTf(LT77v EivaL avTOv, 0(a Tov aaKKOV μεAavos ovTos To T7)/3aaL)Eias Kpv~LOV, SLα Tov XG17baTpO\$, o9TEp KakELTaL aKaKia, we E69TOμEV, TO Tov OaaLAEa Ta1TELvov EivaL (US OV77T8V TO Ti'7S /3aaLkEias vi/ios E7TaipeaOaL Kai μEyaAavXECv, SLα Toy μav8v Lov To ravr7s aararov Kai To μepaoatvew a~ ErEpov eis &cpov, 8tc y c arraB7)g ro E~ovaiaariKov. De Off., 201-2.

46 De Off., 208-11.

50 ODB, s.v. `sebastokrator, 1862; A. Failler, `Les insignes et la signature du despote; REB 40 (1982) 171-86; B. Ferjancic, `Sevastokratori u Vizantiji, ZRVI 11 (1968), 191.

47 R. Guiland, `Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: Le despote, REB 17 (1959), 52-7.

48 Anna Komnene, Alexiad, II.1.4.1, eds. Reinsch and Kambylis, 95.

49 De Off., 144-6. The identification of the skaranikon has been much disputed. N. P. Kondakov ('Costumes orientaux', 16) reiterates the old identification of the skaranikon as a tunic. S. C. Caratzas made an etymological argument for such an identification ('Byzantinogermanica [karanos-skaranikon], BZ 47 [1954], 320-32). This opinion has continued to enjoy some currency. N. Sevicenko endorses it (with some hesitation) in her entry on hats in the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (s.v. `headgear', 904), and J. Ball offers the suggestion that it is a riding caftan (Byzantine Dress, 44). On the other hand, Piltz (Costume officiel, 11 and passim), following Verpeaux (De Off., 145-6, n.), identifies it as a type of hat. As Kazhdan has pointed out (ODB, s.v. `skaranikon, 1908-1909), the first surviving use of the term is as an adjective in a poem of Ptochoprodromos, describing a sort of headgear, the epanokamelauchis. Given the consistency between the descriptions of the skaranikon in Pseudo-Kodinos and the numerous representations of courtiers wearing a cylindrical hat with the imperial image, the identification of the skaranikon as a variety of tunic is to be rejected.

56 De Off., 148-9; Guiland's description of the caesar's costume mistakes the skiadion, a broad-brimmed hat, for a type of crown. Guiland, Recherches II, 37. Cf. Parani, Reconstructing, 69-70.

53 aTro/3a21ov7a 8ta To 7TEV0os Ta EpvBpa, μ7 OopECv 621.1o7E TrapaaKEVaaa , Ev7perriaac a;;oXpo' arra, am';EVKW

Trop~vpa XPvaw TrotKtATa., Kai 8ia μapyapwv 70 Oaat;IKON UT ±E6OV, Tovs o.ETOVC, Tr EptBEic... (A,OVw TWV EpvOpa,V EKaTavTa 70) OaatAEL. George Pachymeres, Georges Pachymeres relations historiques VI, 28, ed. A. Failler (Paris, 1984), 631. Cf. De Off., 143-4. The actual title that Michael VIII granted Constantine is not recorded.

11 But see the cases adduced by Kazhdan, in which individuals known to have held the rank of sebastokrator are addressed in letters or epigrams as 'despotes'. A. Kazhdan, 'Sevastokratory i despoty v vizantii XII v.: Neskol'ko dopolnenii', ZRVI 14/15 (1973), 41-4. Cf also the grave slab from Pherrai thought to belong to Isaac Komnenos. R. Ousterhout in Evans and Wixom (eds.), *Glory of Byzantium*, 40-1, cat. no. 7.

12 Guillard, 'Le despote'; 58-9.

14 ODB, s.v. 'caesar', 363; R. Guillard, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines II* (Berlin, 1967), 30-5.

57 De Off., 136-7. Matthew Blastares follows a somewhat different order, placing the protovestiarios in first rank, followed by the panhypersebastos, megas doux, and megas domestikos. 'Liste du moine Mathieu, ed. Verpeaux, De Off., 319-20.

58 'Liste du Mathieu, ed. Verpeaux, De Off., 320. Alas, no source records the colour of the shoes of the megas domestikos.

60 De Off., 153-4.

61 Paris BN ms gr. 2144, fol. llr; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 148-50, figs. 96-7; Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 26-7, cat. no. 2.

62 Contrary to the indications of Pseudo-Kodinos. Nevertheless, most representations of the skaranikon that I have found show a seated emperor. Cf also the crowd of officials wearing the skaranikon with imperial busts in the Akathistos frescoes at Cozia. G. Babic, 'L'acathiste de la Vierge a Cozia, 173-89, figs. 4-6.

63 Colour reproductions in Durand (ed.), *Byzance*, 456; Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 27.

ss De Off., 147.

64 Spatharakis, Portrait, 193-8, figs. 143-51; A. Cutler and P. Magdalino, 'Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon, CA 27 (1978), 179-98. See most recently the important study of the manuscript by I. Rutter, 'Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons, JOB, 45 (1995), 79-114. My thanks to Nancy Sevickenko for bringing this article to my attention.

65 PLP IX, No. 21498.

66 Perhaps to be identified as the *tamparion* mentioned in Pseudo-Kodinos; this apparently refers to a sort of military cloak. Du Cange, Glossarium, s.v. *aTaurrapfov*.»

67 Spatharakis, Portrait, 192; Anna Komnene, Alexiad, 111.4.1, eds. Reinsch and Kambylis, 95. Cf. Piltz, Kammelaution et mitra, 36.

68 Spatharakis, Portrait, 193, fig. 144; cf. De Off., 137, 154.

70 Hotter dates the gallery of official portraits in the manuscript to its second phase, c. 1330-1335. Pseudo-Kodinos, writing about twenty years later, indicates that the original colour associated with the *protosebastos* was green, as it appears on the *kabbadion* of the *protosebastos* Constantine Raoul in the manuscript. De Off., 134; Piltz, Costume officiel, 19.

71 Spatharakis, Portrait, figs. 143-51. Fragments of a dress of similar pattern were discovered at Mistra in 1955. The textile remains consist of a monochrome damask of floral palmettes within an ogival foliate pattern, probably of Western Mediterranean origin. P. Kalamara, 'La costume a Mistra a la fin de la periode Paleologue: donnees provenant de la fouille des tombes de Sainte-Sophie, in Parure d'une princesse byzantine: Tissus archeologiques de Sainte-Sophie de Mistra, ed. M. Martiniani-Reber (Conches, 2000), 105-18.

69 Spatharakis, Portrait, 195-7, figs. 147-9; cf. De Off., 137, 155.

72 D. Gaborit-Chopin suggests that the figures on the toga may represent important relations of the wearer. Durand (ed.), Byzance, 49-50, cat. no. 12; Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten, 33, No. 10; Cf also the diptych formerly in Limoges of Anthemius, consul in 515, who wears a *trabea triumphalis* ornamented with busts that perhaps represent imperial figures. R. Delbrueck, Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte

Denkmdler (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 121-2, No. 17.

73 Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 49-50, nos. 51-2.

74 Kai ~op.aac a7etbav1V `PwμaiKOV paoui;uKOV Kai XAaμtiba
airpov oAoa~piKOV, EXoV a.V7i 7rop~vpo6 7a/31iov Xpv904V
OaaiKu v 7a/371iov, EV w V7ri)pXEY EV [tc'(jW 9777Bapiov a)71Ou
v μiKpoV, EXovra 7ov XapaKn pa rov avTov /3aatAEwc 'Iova76VOv,
Kai a7txapty bE airpov 7rapayav8w, Kai avro EXov XPV rr;ovμia
OaaiAuKa, waavywc EXovra 7ov XapaK777pa 704 avrov /3aaikEwc
Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVII, 9, ed. I. Thorn, CFHB 35
(Berlin, 2000), 340 (translation mine). For another translation, see E.
Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*
(Sydney, 1986), 233.

75 R. Schorta, *Monochrome Seidengewebe des hohen Mittelalters*
(Berlin, 2001), 66-71; W. Woodfin, 'Presents Given and Presence
Subverted: The Cunegunda Chormantel in Bamberg and the Ideology
of Byzantine Textiles, *Gesta* 27 (2008), 43-5.

76 For variations on the imperial portrait on costume in religious
iconography, see W. Woodfin, 'An Officer and a Gentleman:
Transformations in the Iconography of a Warrior Saint, *DOP* 60
(2006), 111-43; to which should be added C. Walter, 'The Portrait of
Saint Paraskeve, chapter in *Pictures as Language: How the Byzantines
Exploited Them* (London, 2000), 383-94; and Z. Gavrilovic,
'Observations on the Iconography of St. Kyriake, Principally in
Cyprus, in Aaμ7T778d,v: AcG'pwpa C777 μv~μP TW NTovlas
Movp(K3 (Athens, 2003) I, 255-64.

78 De Off, 211.

79 De Off, 206.

77 De Off., 151-66.

80 Walter, *Iconographie des conciles*, 80, fig. 37; Grabar, *Peinture
religieuse en Bulgarie*, 272, 279-80, pl. XLVII. Mitres continued to be a
privilege reserved to patriarchs and metropolitans into the early
modern period. Papas, 'Liturgische Gewander, 768.

82 Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni*,
37-8; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge,
1993), 101.

86 Paris BN gr. 1242, fol. 5v; Spatharakis, Portrait, 132, fig. 86; illustrated in Evans (ed.), Byzantium: Faith and Power, 12, fig. 1.11.

84 De Off., 238, 268; Cf. M. Christopoulos, *eTvrruc au i-a6oc T)~s /3aa(Aeiov T(!~ewc 7)7s* EEBX 11 (1935), 49.

8L On the representation of ataxia, see H. Maguire, 'The Art of the Court, in Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, 185.

83 De Off., 220.

85 Walter, *Iconographie des conciles*, 79-80, 97-9.

87 Balsamon, commentary on the twelfth canon of the Synod of Antioch (341), RP III, 146-50. Mathew Blastares also asserts the unique privilege of the Patriarch of Constantinople to intervene in the disputes of other patriarchates. RP VI, 429.

ss Ey(~ eiµi o Trjc oLKovµEV)s KpiT + s, Kai rvas o abiKOVµevos XPiaTfavos eis EµE avaTpcXeи, Kai .1aµoavet Ttiv 8iopBwaiv. MM II, 187. Cf. the numerous other examples of similar claims collected in D. Nicol, 'The Papal Scandal', *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976), reprinted in D. Nicol, *Studies in late Byzantine History and Prosopography* (London, 1986), 141-68.

90 See above, Chapter 1, n. 103. John Kantakouzenos, *Historia* III, 36 (= PG 153, col. 909A-B). This text is cited by C. Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 29, who interprets the headgear, however, as a cowl rather than as a mitre.

89 Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 189-94.

93 Cf. Failler, 'Insignes du despote, 178-80; De Off., 141, 144, 146.

94 Djuric et al., *Pecka Patrijarsija*, 204-5, fig. 130.

95 ODB, s.v. 'Nemanjid Dynasty, 1451-1452; G. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium During the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dusan (1331-1355) and his Successors* (Washington, DC, 1984), 29-31.

96 The Serbian Church had, of course, its own ambitions. The archbishopric of Pec was proclaimed a patriarchate in 1346, a title apparently never acknowledged by Constantinople. ODB, s.v. 'Pec',

1613; V. Laurent, *Tarcheveque de Pec et le titre de patriarche apres l'union de 1375'*, *Balcania* 7 (1944), 303-10.

9' Djuric et al., *Pecka patrijarsija*, 71, pl. 153-4.

92 For the flaring headgear, compare the hats worn by the courtiers in Vat. gr. 1851, f. Ir, 2v, images most likely dating to 1180. Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 211-12, pl. 161, 164. Cf also the headgear worn by SS Merkourios and Prokopios at Treskavac, c. 1340. Djuric, *Vizantiiskie freski*, 490.

99 D. Reinsch, 'Lieber den Turban als was?' in *Ow1E.1A77v: Studies in Honour of Robert Browning* (Venice, 1996), 377-89.

97 Tti)v 8ia μapyapwv Ka\vrTpav Kai 7a 7rapau7jua a7re/3akETo. George Pachymeres, *Historia* IV, 29, ed. Failler, 417.

¹⁰⁰ For the placement of the emperor among the angels, see H. Maguire, 'A Murderer among the Angels: The Frontispiece Miniatures of Paris. Gr. 510 and the Iconography of the Archangels in Byzantine Art', in R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (eds.), *The Sacred Image East and West* (Urbana, 1995), 63-71; idem, 'The Heavenly Court', 248-55.

9a KpebTTOTepov Eayiv etMvai iv Tro3c OaKio3iov OaaiSc6ov Tov'pKwv KalvnTpav Doukas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantind*, ed. Grecu, 329.

104 Theodore Balsamon's mention of the patriarchal sakkos, of course, predates the use of the term in the mid-fourteenth century by Pseudo-Kodinos. Cf. RP IV, 478, 546; Balsamon, *Responsa ad Marcum*, PG 138, col. 989A; idem, *Meditata*, PG 128, cols. 1020C, 1025D-1028B; *De Off.*, 200, 201, 224, 256, 264.

102 Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, 255-8.

103 Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists*, 23-4, 178, 180.

L0' El 8EC oiiv ra E\ a.rrw rocs μei~oai μei~wv SE ~ EKKA97ata ~s o X(piaro)s KE~aklj, ov rtiw ELKOva ~Epei o rr(ar)pWpXP.s. • P. G. Nikolopoulos, ed., <AvEKSoros koyos eis 4paeviov Avrwpeiavov 17arprapX~v Kwvaravrrrovrrrolews,» *EEBX* 45 (1981-82), 461.

108 He was married when he entered the priesthood. PLP, No. 10288.

106 Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, 1.2,30 No. 1086. The elevation of the Bishop of Lakedaimonia to the rank of metropolitan did in fact take place in 1082 or 1083, but the scholion quoted by Du Cange, which mentions the right to wear the sakkos, would seem to be a later interpolation. See V. Laurent, 'La date de l'erection des metropoles de Patras et de Lacedemone', *REB* 21 (1963), 136-9.

105 A third possibility, that of the gradual alteration of the phelonion to resemble the sakkos, is suggested by Athanasios Papas but is not sustainable with the evidence available. Papas, *Geschichte der Messgewander*, 125.

107 *MM V*, 159; Papas, *Geschichte der Messgewander*, 126.

109 *De Off.*, 147-8.

110 Failler, 'Insignes du desposte', 172-85.

113 G. and M. Soteriou, *H Oaoil(ici) QPμPrpiov eEuua\oviK77s* (Athens, 1952), 211, pl. 81a. My thanks to Sarah Brooks for calling this fresco to my attention. Another near-contemporary image of the saint is his icon in the Hermitage, where he wears a reddish-purple sakkos (incorrectly identified as a phelonion by Bank) with gold crosses. Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 329, pl. 319.

Ibid., 186n.; *Regestes V*, 195-7, No. 2250. The document is preserved in *Vat. cod. Barberinianus gr.* 291, f. 223-5 and 228v-229. Interestingly, Ignatios, Patriarch of Antioch, signed the same document in black ink. Isidore seems to have been deposed primarily for his Palamite leanings.

116 *σ'Ιερwmiv]s yrap Kai 3aat)eiac To blacb pov ov8EV tij Kai oliyov E.leyev Eivao > > . H avveXeta Xpovoypa~iac To6'Iwavvov XKVAi7a7)* (Ioannes Skylitzes *Continuatus*), ed. E. Tsolakes (Thessalonike, 1968), 105; Dagron, *Empereur et pretre*, 245.

112 The exception is the sakkos of Metropolitan Simon in the Kremlin, an Ottoman textile of c. 1500 featuring double-armed crosses in gold against a black ground. Starensier, 'Byzantine Silk Industry', 676-9; Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 328, pl. 308-9. A fragment of a purple silk vestment with gold-embroidered quatrefoils, perhaps part of a sakkos, was excavated from a tomb of Palaiologan date in Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike in the early 1920s. A. Xyngopoulos, in *ApXawokoyuKOV JCATLOV* 9 (1924-1925), 65-7, fig. 5. The fragment is now lost. I

thank Prof Sharon Gerstel for the information about this textile.

114 Papas, *Geschichte der Messgewänder*, 72-80; K. Wessel, *Farbensymbolik*, RbK 11, 524-6.

115 Curiously, the majority of representations of sakkoi in wall painting are black and white or gold and white. The sakkos of St Sava at Pec is purple, matching his mitre. Hjuric et al., *Pecka patrijarsija*, pl. 153. For comparison, the 1396 inventory of Hagia Sophia lists seven sakkoi, of which three are white (AevKO ς), two purple (o~vs), one black (melavos), and one blue (~epaveos). MM II, 568.

119 "Qrt 6c " 8cv7Epa aEVWKE r(Z apXLE7TLUKO9rw ra rrpovo μ ta rravra rot) rrrarra `Pa'imi2s, ErrcXcipi)aav rrwvEc rtsrv ra7ptapXwv we o K'ipovAaptos EKEVOS Kvp MtXa~.1, Kai Erepoi rigs avr)~c rrpovo μ tiots, oti yeyove 1SE avroCc cis KaAov ~ EyXctp77ats• RP I, 148-9.

Dagron, *Empereur et pretre*, 245-7.

117 The Greek version of the Donation is given by Balsamon, RP 1, 145-8.

2 There are intriguing glimpses of such a development in objects of Early Byzantine liturgical art, such as the Riha and Stuma Patens, but it seems to have been cut short by iconoclasm. See M. Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1986), 165-70, 171-2. Among textual sources, the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition is carried over into the eleventh-century effort of Niketas Stethatos to parallel the ranks of angels to the ecclesiastical hierarchy as a whole. Discussed in Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant*, 145.

' I have discussed some of the broader artistic implications of the mirroring of earthly and heavenly hierarchies in the essay *Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church*, in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London, 2010), 303-19.

3 On the topos of the heaven imagined as a mirror-image of the earthly court and capital, see C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 151-3.

4 For the parallels between the imperial hierarchy and that of heaven, see H. Maguire, 'A Murderer among the Angels: The

Frontispiece Miniatures of Paris Gr. 510 and the Iconography of the Archangels in Byzantine Art', in *The Sacred Image East and West*, eds. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (Urbana, Ill., 1995), 63-71; idem, 'The Heavenly Court, in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC, 1997), 247-58.

6 De Cer.II. 40, ed. Reiske, 637-8.

Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court, 247, n. 2; E. Kurtz and F. Drexel (eds.), *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, vol. I (Milan, 1936), 31.1-3.

10 Psalms 8: 5.

12 The identification of the ivory as a comb was made by G. Buhl and H. Jehle, 'Des Kaisers altes Zepter-des Kaisers neuer Kamm, *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 39 (2002), 289-306. For the earlier interpretation, see K. Corrigan, 'The Ivory Scepter of Leo VI: A Statement of Post-Iconoclastic Imperial Ideology, *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 407-16. The identification of the object as a sceptre is questioned by A. Arnulf, 'Fine Perle für das Haupt Leons VI.: Epigraphische und ikonographische Untersuchungen zum sogenannten Szepter Leons VI.', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 32 (1990), 69-84, and by A. Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium* (Princeton, 1994), 200-1. My discussion of this object is indebted to H. Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court, 249-51.

7 See the texts collected by Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court, 247-57, *passim*.

\$ On the alleged Christomimesis of certain Byzantine imperial portraits, see n. 16, below.

Dumitrescu, 'Remarques en marge du Coislin 79: Les trois eunuques et le problème du donateur, *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 40-2; Maguire, 'Heavenly Court', 249. Spatharakis echoes Bordier's identification of the prostrate figure as the painter, although the mention of the scribe in the inscription at the top of the leaf makes him the more logical identification. Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 112. On parallels between court eunuchs and angels, see Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant*, 142-62.

Paris, BN ms Coislin 79, fol. 2v. Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 111-12.

13 A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X. - XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1934), vol. II,

no. 34. The question of the identification of the imperial couple has been settled by M. Parani, 'The New Tokali Kilise and the Romanos Ivory' On the former dispute over the dating of the object, see I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 'Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos Ivory', *DOP* 31 (1977), 305-25; A. Cutler, 'The Date and Significance of the Romanos Ivory', in *Byzantine East, Latin West*, 605-13.

14 The non-imperial character of Christ's garments in the Late Antique context has also been noted by T. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, 101, 178-9.

16 Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court', 247-51. Compare this phenomenon to what William Tronzo terms the 'self-sufficient' Christomimetic relationship between Roger II and Christ in his mosaic portrait in the Martorana. W. Tronzo, 'Byzantine Court Culture from the Point of View of Norman Sicily: The Case of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture*, 107-9.

K. Weitzmann, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 3, *Ivories and Steatites* (Washington, DC, 1972), 55-8, no. 24, pl. XXXII-XXXV.

18 Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court', 252-5. On the theme of the winged emperor, see T. Bertele, *L'imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Rome, 1951). A list of the coins referred to in Bertele's monograph maybe found in *DOC* V.2, 571-2. The example illustrated has been published by E. Lianta, *Late Byzantine Coins 1204-1453 in the Ashmolean Museum*, University of Oxford (London, 2009), 213, cat. no. 594. My sincere thanks to Julian Baker for supplying the photograph and background information. Emperors may have also been shown with wings in other media, as in a fragmentary fresco at Didymoteichon. R. Ousterhout, 'A Byzantine Chapel at Didymoteicho and its Frescoes', in *L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi, 1261-1453*, eds A. Iacobini and M. della Valle (Rome, 1999), 198-201, figs. 7-10; *DOCV*, 67-8.

17 Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court', 252; Hendy, *DOC* IV.2, 595, nos. 34-5, pl. 43.

22 R. Taft, 'Byzantine Communion Spoons: A Review of the Evidence', *DOP* 50 (1996), 224-31, 238; The distinctive vessel used to administer the wine in many representations of the Communion of the Apostles has been noted by Mary Lee Coulson, 'Old Wine in New Pitchers: Some Thoughts on Depictions of the Chalice in the

Communion of the Apostles, in Aatt' v: Ac6 'pwμα 6797 μν~μq TP's Nrov' kas Movp1KC7, ed. M. Aspra-Vardavake, vol. 1 (Athens, 2003), 145-56.

23 This development is foreshadowed in an 11th-century mosaic medallion in St Sofia at Kiev, in which Christ is shown in antique dress but with a clerical tonsure. See V. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoi* (Moscow, 1960), 89-90, pl. 17-18; A. Lidov, 'Khristos-svyashchennik' v ikonograficheskikh programmakh XI-XII vekov' *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 55, pt. 1 (1994), 187-92.

24 Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 216.

21 The earliest examples in monumental painting include Kili4lar Kilise and the church of the Nativity on Naxos (both tenth century)) and the church of the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessalonike (early eleventh century); see C. Jolivet-Levy, *Les eglises byzantines de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1991), 140-1 and pl. 88, fig. 1; M. Panayotidi, 'L'eglise rupestre de la nativite dans l'ile de Naxos: Ses peintures primitives, CA 23 (1974), 112, fig. 6; K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki* (Graz and Cologne, 1966), 30-5, pl. 8.

19 Cf. Symeon of Thessalonike, *Expositio de divino templo*, PG 155, col. 709A.

20 On the development of the celestial liturgy theme in Byzantine painting, see Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 217-21; J. D. ~tefanescu, 'L'Illustration des Liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1 (1932-1933), 72-7.

28 Papas, 'Liturgische Gewander, 747. A fourteenth-century stole, on display as an orarion in the monastery museum at Rila, Bulgaria, is most likely, in fact, an epitachelion. Similarly the stole of c. 1380 at Tismana, Romania, which is very close in style and type to the so-called epitachelion of Metropolitan Photios in the Kremlin, must be considered an epitachelion (per the accompanying caption), not an orarion (per Millet's text). Millet, *Broderies*, 2-6, pl. I-IV.

30 Millet, *Broderies*, 50. A similarly decorated Wallachian orarion, somewhat cruder in execution, survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Its inscription names the donor, Radu Paisie, and the date, 1538. Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 103-4, pl. 48.

25 Pseudo-Chrysostom (Severianos of Gabala?), 'In Parabolam de Filio Prodigio', PG 59, col. 520; Germanos, 'Historia Ecclesiastica', PG 98, col. 393C; PseudoSophronios, 'Commentaries Liturgicus', PG 87, pt. 3, col. 3988D; Philotheos, 'Ordo sacri ministerii', PG 154, cols. 753A, 756B-D; Trempelas, *Tpds AEtTovpyia*, 6, 83.

26 For Kiev, see V. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoi* (Moscow, 1960), pl. 33, 34; on St Sofia at Ochrid, see R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* 2, pt. 3 (Giessen, 1963), 224-5, pl. VI; A. Grabar, 'Les peintures murales dans le choeur de Sainte-Sophie d'Ochrid', *CA* 15 (1965), 257-65.

27 The inscription of «iiy,os» or Slavonic equivalents on the stoles of the deacons or deacon-angels are found, for example, at Studenica (1314) and on the earlyfourteenth century Thessalonike Epitaphios. Walter, *Art and Ritual*, fig. 56; Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 312, No. 187A. Cf also Symeon of Thessalonike, 'De Sacris Ordinationibus', PG 155, col. 381 C-D; idem., 'Expositio de Divino Templo', PG 155, col. 712B. On the angelic nature of the Sanctus, see Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 385.

31 S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des eglises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1970), 14, fig. 62.

32 Compare also the depiction of the heavenly liturgy on the fourteenth-century steatite Panagiarion from Xeropotamou Monastery on Mt. Athos. I. KalavrezouMaxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Vienna, 1985), pl. 131.

29 The inscription on the ends of the stole records its donation for the benefit of Radivoe and his wife, the deaconess Anika, and their children, 30 April 7041. Millet, *Broderies*, 50, pl. CII-CIII.

33 H. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 312-13, cat. no. 187A; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, 31, pl. 96.

34 Millet, *Broderies*, 76-8, pl. CLIX; D. Bogdanovic et al., *Hilandar* (Belgrade, 1978), 120, pl. 99; S. S. Smolcic-Makuljevic, 'Hilandarska katapetazma monahinje Jefimije: Ikonografija i bogosluzbena funkcija,' in *Međunarodni naucni skup: Osam vekova Hilandara: istorija, duhovni zivot, knizevnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, ed. V. Korac (Belgrade, 2000), 693-701; Mirkovic, *Crkveni umetnicki vez*, 10-11, pl. 1.

35 Taft, *Great Entrance*, 211; *Diataxis of Gemistos*: Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie II*, 310.

37 Millet, *Broderies*, 26-8, pl. L. See also the iconographically similar stole of the late fourteenth century from Patmos, but with half-length figures. W. Woodfin in Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 308-9, cat. no. 184.

38 Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacro templo*, PG 155, col. 345 C-D.

39 The twelfth-century diataxis of the pontifical liturgy of Hagia Sophia, edited by Taft, already uses *archiereus* for bishop throughout. R. Taft, *Pontifical Liturgy* 284-306, *passim*.

40 B. Lindars, *The Theology of the Letter to the Hebrews* (Cambridge, 1991), 58-66, 71-9.

41 N. Atasoy et al., *Ipek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (London, 2001), 176-81, 241-7 *passim*, pl. 10, 51-5; A. Starensier, 'An Art-Historical Study of the Byzantine Silk Industry' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1982), 672-9, with earlier bibliography.

36 See Chapter 3, 'Liturgical Mystagogy and the Embroidered image, above.

42 The letters of Western travellers in Asia Minor note the export of woven silks from Bursa as early as 1397. H. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts* (Bloomington, Ind., 2003), 40-2, 63-4.

43 Cf also the surviving sakkos of Metropolitan Peter in the Moscow Kremlin, A. Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 328, pl. 294-5.

44 Van Dieten (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 18-19; trans. Magoulias, *O City*, 12; cf. *De Off.*, 195-6.

45 On the influence of the Neo-Sabaitic typikon in the Late Byzantine period, see R. Taft, 'Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite, *DOP* 42 (1988), 187-94.

46 *De Off.*, 228-9. See also W. Tronzo, 'Mimesis in Byzantium: Notes Toward a History of the Function of the Image, *Res* 25 (1994), 61-76, esp. 62.

47 On theories of imperial-ecclesiastical relations, see Dagron,

Empereur et pretre, 229-55; D. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium (1204-1330)* (Cambridge, 2007), 351-416.

48 G. Majeska, 'The Emperor in His Church: Imperial Ritual in the Church of St. Sophia, in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC), 6-8; Taft, 'Byzantine Communion Spoons', 231-2.

49 Majeska, 'The Emperor in His Church', 11.

so On the concept of symphonia see A. Schmemmann, 'The Idea of Primacy, in J. Meyendorff (ed.), *The Primacy of Peter* (London, 1963), 168.

51 De Off., 264; cf the parallel passage in Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, I, 41.1, p. 200; J. Darrouzes, *Recherches sur les a~ b(Kta de l'eglise byzantine*, Archives de l'Orient chretien 11 (Paris, 1970), 215-16; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 280, s.v. 8ETTO7a7OS•

52 Verpeaux, *Traite des offices*, 358.

55 Darrouzes, *Recherches sur les 4 t'Kia*, 231 n. 4., 552, 569. On the reduction in the emperor's status to depotatos, see further G. Dagron *Empereur et pretre*, 287-9.

56 De Off, 267; Kantakouzenos, *Historia* I, 202.

57 De Off, 237-8; Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 358. Pseudo-Kodinos makes no mention of the emperor's exchange of the kiss of peace with the patriarch, an imperial privilege recorded in De Cer. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 396.

54 T6 To (Uc 6EpOv, .1atzoavcL oaoiAEv'c' Ka' TL arro Kov(~ov v.1ov pa(3Soc. Symeon of Thessalonike, *De sacro templo*, 149, PG 155, col. 356B. On the mandyas, see also M. Parani, *Reconstructing*, 15-16.

ss E',rravw 7wv OaaLAEiwV Kai tEpov E'vbyµa TTEptoaAAE7aL, o bearroTaTOv (sic) EaTi, T)v Evra~iav a'l'jµa6vov Kai T)v Evka/3ELav,)V O(ci'Act 77) 'KKAI)oiç 7TOLELV Kai 7T)V Etp' VIw. Kai &i pa08ov AaµoavEf, o3 /3apELa.V 7tva Kai 9k)97pav, a > 2 EAaq pav 7E Kai µaAaK)v, 8fa TO 9Ta.(&VTLKOVEV 9Tpao77)7t Kai fb~ opy6AOV Kai (OapTtKOV, µ9)8E rVV7630V Kai a~avl~ov. Symeon of Thessalonike,

61 Christopoulos, < <TvmK~ MTa~tc,» 48-9.

62 Christopoulos, <Tv ucti7 btaTa 6s,» 49.

59 M. (Iristopoulos, < <TvrKl) Bid afbs Tic /3aaOAeiov Ta~ewc TI) KvptaK3 GTavporrpoJKVVijaewc,» EEBX 11 (1935), 48-51. My thanks to Alexander Lingas for his help in navigating the liturgical indications in this text.

60 On the chapel of St Stephen, see R. Janin, *La geographic ecclesiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I, *Le siege de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecumenique*, iii, *Les eglises et les monasteres* (Paris, 1953), 489-90.

58 Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 415; Laurent, 'Les droits de l'empereurs, 14-16; Dolger, *Regesten*, 3358 and 3359.

63 Christopoulos, <TvrK'I &aTa6ts,» 50. Cf. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 378, 11. 33-7; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 206-7.

64 A. Grabar, 'Pseudo-Codinos et les ceremonies de la Cour byzantine au XIV siecle', in *Art et societe a Byzance sous les Paleologues* (Venice, 1971), 215-17. But note also Pseudo-Kodinos' description of the Palaiologan revival of the earlier ceremony of raising the emperor on a shield, in which the persons who support the emperor are no longer soldiers but courtiers and the patriarch. *Ibid*, 201; *De Off.*, 255-6.

65 The connection of ceremonial with the reality of power is justly emphasized by Trilling, 'Daedalus and the Nightingale', 230. On the actual judicial and legislative power of the Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 353-5; 412-16.

66 But compare the patriarchal reprimand (1370) of Aleksei, Bishop of Novgorod, for wearing crosses on his phelonion. Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 14-15; *MM I*, 522-3.

67 e.g. the epitachelion of Dositheos the Hieromonk. Millet, *Broderies*, 29-30, pl. LIV-LV.

68 Et' Sec o6V Ta EkC.TTW rocs µci~oat T1Ei8EaOay µei~wv SE ~

EKKA9796a ~s o X(p6uTO)c KE(60~, oU Tti)V EiKOVa ~EpEl o rr(aT)piapXis. •. Nikolopoulos, (ed.), oAvEKSoToc)Oyoc cis Apa6Viov A6TwpEiavov,» 461.

69 Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court, 256-7.

2 Dagron, *Empereur et pretre*, 245; Skylitzes *Continuatus*, ed. Tsolakes, 105.

G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), 336-41.

4 The mosaic over the sanctuary arch of St Sophia in Kiev shows Christ with what appears to be a tonsure. A. Lidov, 'Khristos-svyashchennik' v ikonographicheskikh programmakh XI-XII vekov, *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 55 (1994), 187-92; Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics*, 39, 225, 228, fig. 4. A colour reproduction appears in H. N. Lohvyn (ed.), *Sofiia Kyivs'ka: Derzhavnyi arkhitekturno istorychnyi zapovidnyk* (Kiev, 1971), pl. 32. The mosaic has been heavily restored.

3 Bornert, *Commentaires*, 215; Schulz, *Byzantine Liturgy*, 124, 193-5.

6 H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression* (New York, 1986), 103-4.

Nikephoros of Constantinople, *Antirrheticus* 1.29, PG 100: 277. See J. Travis, *In Defense of the Faith: The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople* (Brookline, MA., 1984), 49-54. See also A. W. Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon and the Icons'. In *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki (Princeton, 1995), 579-601. The same theory of the relation of the icon to its archetype is implied in Symeon of Thessalonike, *Contra Haereses*, PG 155: 112.

7 Symeon of Thessalonike, *Contra Haereses*, PG 155: 340; R. Taft, 'The Living Icon: Touching the Transcendent in Palaiologan Iconography and Liturgy', in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S. Brooks (New York, 2006), 55.

S Confessional allegiance, of course, weighs heavily on whether one sees the consequences of this development as primarily positive or

negative. Compare the cautions of the Catholic scholars Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 211, and Taft, 'Liturgy of the Great Church', 73-4, to the conclusions of Conostas, 'Symeon of Thessalonike and the Theology of the Icon Screen', 182-3.

2 Inscriptions are transcribed as far as possible, but only in cases that go beyond the habitual labelling inscriptions connected to holy scenes or figures. Abbreviated forms are marked, but phonetic misspellings reflecting later Byzantine pronunciation (e.g. 71 for or), have been corrected without notation. I thank my colleague Vasileios Marinis for his help in checking my transcriptions of Byzantine Greek. For the readings of the Slavonic inscriptions, I am deeply indebted to Georgi Parpulov. All errors of transcription, of course, remain my own.

3 As, for example, the Epitaphios of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328) from St Clement at Ochrid. Millet, *Broderies*, 89-94, pl. CLXXVIII; I. Petrinski in *Byzantium: Faith & Power*, 314-15, cat. no. 188.

4 From a doxastikon of the vespers of Pentecost. *Pentekostarion* (Rome, 1884), 394. On the text, see Peter Karavites, 'Gregory Nazianzinos and Byzantine Hymnography', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (1993), 87.

I would like to thank Alexei Barkov of the Moscow Kremlin for bringing the orthographic issue to my attention.

6 M. Theocharis in *Treasures of Mount Athos* (Thessalonike, 1997), 453, cat. no. 11.4.

7 R. Ousterhout, 'Byzantium between East and West and the Origins of Heraldry in Byzantine Art: Recent Studies', ed. C. Hourihane (*Tempe, Arizona*, 2009), 153-70.

8 Millet, *Broderies*, 24.

9 Ousterhout, 'Origins of Heraldry', 161-4; A. Mexia in *The City of Mystras*, ed. P. Kalamara et al. (Athens, 2001), 166-7, cat. no. 23.

10 N. Iorga, *Les arts mineurs en Roumanie*, II, 21, fig. 80. Note that medieval Greek, unlike the Old Church Slavonic alphabet, had no letter accurately to represent the hard 'B' sound. Modern Greek accomplishes it just as in the misspelled inscription, with the letter

combination

V. Pace (ed.), *Treasures of Christian Art in Bulgaria* (Sofia, 2001), 209.

12 Millet, *Broderies*, 37-9.

13 Darrouzes, *Recherches sur les 4~tKfa*, 31, 303-9.

14 Millet's transcription, based on a single photograph, is faulty.

15 Woodfin in *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, cat. no. 190, pp. 316-17.

2 Brightman, *Liturgies*, 355; Trempelas, *TpEic AETovpyia*(, 2b.

4 Brightman, *Liturgies*, 355; Trempelas, *TpECs AELTovpyial*, 2b.

Brightman, *Liturgies*, 355.

Brightman, *Liturgies*, 355; Trempelas, *TpECs AeiTovpyiat*, 2b.

6 Brightman, *Liturgies*, 355; Trempelas, *TpECs SETovpyiat*, la.

s Brightman, *Liturgies*, 356; Trempelas, *TpECs 1ELTovpyLal*, 2a; Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie II*, 302.

Brightman, *Liturgies*, 355; Trempelas, *Tpets la*.

7 Brightman, *Liturgies*, 355; Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie II*, 302.

9 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, II, 302.

10 *Pentekostarion* (Rome, 1884), 319.